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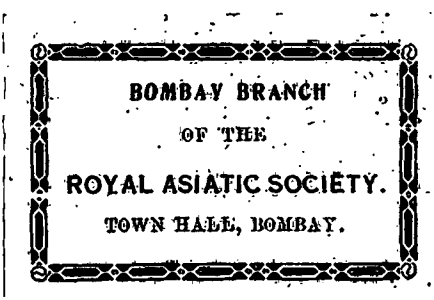

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GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

SPEECH

OF

JOHN POLLARD WILLOUGHBY, ESQ.,

(M.P. FOR LEOMINSTER,)

ON THE MOTION OF VISCOUNT PALMERSTON FOR LEAVE TO BRING IN A BILL FOR THE BETTER

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

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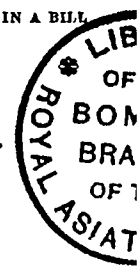

IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

ON THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 18TH, 1858.

RR-C-6 Phl. I

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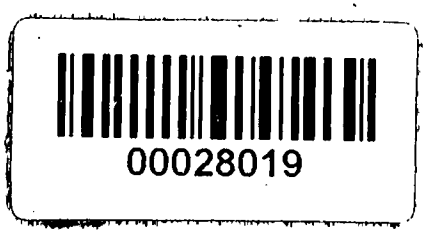

SPEECH.

Mr. WILLOUGHBY said, he felt very forcibly his incompetence to do justice to this important subject, and in rising to address the House he was still further embarrassed by finding himself in reluctant opposition to the right hon. Gentleman (Sir C. Wood) who had just sat down. The fact was that, in India, almost all the business of the Government is conducted in writing, and is made matter of record. To this great check he attributed much of the acknowledged purity of intention and beneficence in act, which characterizes the Administration of India. Those who had served in India were in consequence unaccustomed to take part in the debates of public assemblies, more especially of an assembly like that he had now the honour to address. They could seldom make speeches, though they were accustomed to write "Minutes;" and, for himself, he must say that he never rose in that House without feeling that he required their indulgence, and never more so than on the present occasion. Rising so late in the debate, he could not expect to be able to import into it much of originality or novelty, as most of the facts and arguments which he might have employed had been anticipated by preceding speakers. The

first remark he would make was, that he was not wedded to any particular system, or to a name. He could even be content to see the East India Company depart, with all its glorious associations, and all its successive generations of able servants, civil and military, provided a substitute was found from which we might reasonably expect better fruits. Most cordially did he concur in the concluding remark of his right hon. friend the First Lord of the Admiralty, that this was a question into which party politics and party spirit ought not to intrude; and it was on that very account, and because he thought in his heart that this Bill, if adopted, would ultimately destroy the freedom and exemption from the effects of political strife, secured by the existing system of administering the affairs of India, that he gave it his decided opposition. He hoped they would permit him for a moment to recal their attention to the real objects of this debate. They were about to legislate for the most magnificent dependency of the British Crown—an empire in itself, not a colony—"the creation of many minds and many ages;" the value of which could hardly be overrated, and which he had never heard doubted till the other evening in the speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He was inclined to prefer to the view taken by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the words of the hon. and learned member for Sheffield, that "if we should lose India, we should lose the world." They were about to legislate for an empire (he took his statistics from a Parliamentary Return recently published) with a territory the area of which was computed at 1,456,322 square miles—

larger, in fact, than France, Austria, and Prussia put together; inhabited, according to the latest accounts, by 180,367,148 souls, not of one race, but of many races, all aliens in blood, aliens in language, religion, customs, and manners, not only from ourselves, but from one another; yielding in 1855 a gross and, before this unhappy mutiny broke out, he believed, an improving revenue of £30,817,528, the value of whose exports and imports amounted to £34,965,182, a moiety of which as nearly as possible, or £17,490,587, was exported to, or imported from, the United Kingdom, a trade which, exclusive of the Native craft engaged in the coasting trade, occupied 25,325 vessels of 3,252,256 tons, in which were included 4,728 British vessels of 1,822,157 tons; and burdened only with a debt of not more than two years' revenue. Now, by what means and by what agency was this magnificent empire raised? Notwithstanding the high authority of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, he presumed to assert that that empire was created by the East India Company, and, as was correctly stated in their petition, without the cost of one farthing to the British Exchequer. It was true the Company were assisted by the troops and fleets of England; but let it be remembered that every farthing of the expense was defrayed from the revenues of India; aye, and that, on various occasions in Indian history, the resources of the East India Company were applied for Imperial purposes alone—as, for example, in Egypt, Java, the Mauritius, China, and Persia, and in Affghanistan too, where an expensive war was carried on,

not so much for Indian, as for Imperial purposes. Then let them not touch this noble fabric with rude hands, or without careful and deliberate consideration, preceded by patient and anxious enquiry; for let them remember, that if they once destroyed the power of the East India Company, it never could be resuscitated. His first objection to the Bill had been anticipated by preceding speakers, and more especially by the hon. Member for Huntingdon (Mr. T. Baring), in his eloquent and able speech on Friday last—namely, that it was inopportune in point of time. He believed in his conscience that the most perfect Bill that could be framed at this time, involving changes, such as were introduced into the Bill before the House, would be productive of pernicious consequences. Surely it was not wise, in a time like the present, of great peril abroad and excitement at home, to introduce a measure which they could not hope would receive that calm and dispassionate consideration which should always be given to Indian questions. Surely it was not the part of wisdom, to hang the sword of Damocles over the authorities of India and in England, at a moment like the present, when the sceptre of authority in India seemed passing from our grasp, when all their thoughts, and all their energies should be applied to the preservation and retention of our power in that empire. Disguise it as you may, the Bill if passed will effect a radical change in the constitution of the Government of India, both at home and abroad. The East India Company had always been just, liberal, and generous to their servants; and could Her Majesty's Government think those ser-

vants would be indifferent to the extinction of that authority to which they had hitherto looked up as the guardian of their rights and privileges, and more especially the officers of the Company's army? There was not a more devotedly loyal body of Her Majesty's subjects than the servants of the East India Company; but that was not incompatible or inconsistent with a feeling of regret at the severance of the ties that had so long subsisted between them and the East India Company. His hon. and gallant friend the Member for Reigate (Sir H. Rawlinson) had taken upon himself to represent the wishes of the Company's servants. He (Mr. Willoughby) did not pretend to represent them himself, but his opportunities of learning their feelings were at least as great as those of his hon. and gallant friend, the best part of whose honourable career had been spent in Persia, Turkey, and Affghanistan; and he could truly say that every servant of the Company he had met, whether civil or military, had expressed a feeling of dismay at the proposed change. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had drawn no very flattering picture of the early history of the East India Company; but that had really nothing to do with the present question. When the right hon. gentleman observed that the weakness of a vessel at sea was best tested in a storm, he might have added that that was not a very appropriate time to throw the captain and the pilot overboard. Another objection to this measure, equally strong, was the effect that it would produce on the Natives of India. The Natives of India were not, as some people supposed, either children

or savages. They were an acute, intelligent, and sensitive people, and, above all, apprehensive of change. He was not aware that any desire for change had been expressed by the Natives of India. In fact, the only petition for a change that he had heard of, came from a section of the Anglo-Indian community at Calcutta, and was caused by Lord Canning and his Council having refused to adopt a policy of indiscriminate vengeance, which, if adopted, would have converted this military revolt into a national revolt. The natives of India knew, that so recently as 1853 both Houses of Parliament, after a full and careful enquiry, reported favourably of the then existing system of administering the affairs of India, and that with a few important modifications (which now turn out to be the thin end of the wedge) that system was continued under a Bill brought in by the right hon. Sir C. Wood, Lord John Russell, and the right hon. Sir James Graham. They knew also, that Her Majesty, on the 20th August, 1853, in a speech from the Throne, expressed her persuasion "that it would prove to have been wisely framed, and that it was calculated to promote the improvement and welfare of her Eastern dominions." They knew that the Act of 1853 had not had a fair trial, and, in fact, had scarcely been put into operation. They would, at the same time, say, that at no former period of the Company's Raj was so much vigour and activity exhibited in promoting the moral and physical improvement of the people of India, or in taking care of their interests, when these efforts were unhappily arrested by this calamitous military revolt. When

to this they added, that the Government of 1853, was partly composed of the same elements as in 1858, they would naturally ask why what was considered wisdom in 1853, should be considered folly in 1858? They would, notwithstanding all the fine speeches and assurances, that no fault or delinquency is charged against the East India Company, couple together the existence of the mutiny, and the extinction of the authority of the East India Company, and guided by the public press, by orations from the pulpit and the platform, and by other indications—they would imbibe the impression, however erroneous, that they were to be the subjects of a change of policy—of a change of that policy which had been pursued by eminent men like Malcolm, Elphinstone, and Munro—that an intention existed of introducing a system antagonistic to all their most cherished privileges and feelings; and he warned the House that if once such an impression obtained hold of the native mind, the effect would be more disastrous than the greased cartridges had been on the mind of the Sepoys; for it did not matter much whether a belief was true or false, provided it was seriously entertained. It was said the double Government was slow, cumbrous, anomalous, and irresponsible. The hon. Member for Reigate (Sir H. Rawlinson) had given an amusing account of the process which a despatch concocted in Leadenhall Street underwent before it was finally sent out to India; but his picture was greatly overdrawn, and by enumerating the stages which a despatch might go through, rather than those it did go through ordinarily,

he had stated the exception and not the general rule. On the other hand, the Vice President of the Board of Trade sought to show that all the business of India was transacted in Cannon Row; but any gentleman practically acquainted with the duties devolving on the Court of Directors on the one hand, and on the President of the Board of Control on the other, would know how exaggerated and erroneous such a statement was, the initiative, save in questions relating to peace and war, being vested in the Court. Again, the Vice-President of the Board of Trade would lead the House to suppose that it was the duty of the "Chairs" to go up weekly to Cannon Row and obtain the instructions of the Board of Control. Whatever might have been the custom when the right hon. Gentleman held office at the Board of Control, he (Mr. Willoughby) could only say that the weekly visit of the "Chairs" had for its object to discuss matters of importance and to smooth over difficulties; but, as for all the business of India, and the correspondence with India, with all the voluminous "Collections" appertaining thereto, being disposed of by the Board of Control, it was obviously impossible. With regard to the alleged anomaly, he (Mr. Willoughby) admitted the anomaly; but, was that a reason for abolishing a long-established system like the Government of India? Is the anomaly unattended with no compensating advantages? Are the checks it imposes against rash innovations, crude legislation, precipitant disregard of the rights and privileges of the Natives of India; and the security it affords for a careful consideration of the

numerous appeals received from all classes in India, and on other points affecting the welfare of India, to be regarded as nothing? True, it is an anomaly; but, is it the only existing anomaly? Was not our own glorious constitution itself, with its triple Government, under which we enjoyed all our liberty, an anomaly? Was not our representative system an anomaly? What was one of our most cherished institutions—trial by jury—but an anomaly, seeing that one juryman might, by superior physical endurance, hold the remaining eleven in check from coming to a decision? What else were the Horse Guards and the War Office? Above all, was not the very possession of India itself the greatest anomaly? The fact was, the duty of the Home Government was more deliberative than executive, and India, to be governed well, must be governed *in* India. For that end it was necessary to intrust vast and almost despotic powers to the hands of the Governor-General, and the local authorities in India acting under him. But, in consequence of that necessity, there was the greater necessity for their acts and proceedings being scrutinised and revised by some intermediate and independent body, not in a spirit of captious objection, but of liberal and generous consideration, and a due appreciation of all the difficulties with which they had to contend. He maintained that that duty had been hitherto most efficiently performed by the East India Company, under the control and authority, of course, in the last resort of the Board of Control, always excepting, that the Court of Directors had nothing

to do with the proceedings of the Secret Committee. On questions of peace and war conducted in the Secret Department, the interference of the Court is interdicted by *law*, and therefore as regards these they are free from responsibility. With regard to the alleged irresponsibility under the present system, he had been anticipated in replying to that charge by the hon. and learned Member for Enniskillen (Mr. Whiteside), who, with that view, quoted a very lucid passage from the speech of the First Lord of the Admiralty, when introducing the bill of 1853, which he (Mr. Willoughby) need not again trouble the House by reading.* But it was now said, that greater

* The following is the passage from Sir C. Wood's speech here referred to :—

"The home business of the Government of India may be divided into two parts. One comprises the political relations of the Government of India with other states, and questions of peace and war. These questions are decided not by the Court of Directors, but by the Government of this country, and their orders are sent through the Secret Committee of the India House; and for these decisions, not the Court of Directors, but the Government of this country, is entirely and altogether responsible. Upon that point there can be no question as to divided responsibility, or anything of the kind. The Secret Committee merely acts as an organ to convey to India the directions sent from the Board of Control, and the President of the Board of Control is in that respect only the organ of the general Government." Alluding to Lord Broughton's declaration, that he alone was responsible for the Affghan war, Sir C. Wood observes :—"There is no mistake, no concealment about the matter, and it is nonsense to talk of the irresponsible power of the President of the Board of Control, because the Government of this country is as responsible for war in India as it is responsible for war in Europe, Africa, or America."

"The other great branch of the Government is what is called the ordinary business of the administration of India, and in that the Directors take a very considerable and important part. Every despatch is addressed to them; all questions are considered by them in the first instance; and they have the initiative on every question. Grants of money cannot originate in any way with the Board of Control, and in the exercise of patronage, except in some of the higher appointments, the Directors are entirely uncontrolled. In the greater portion of their business, however, they are liable to the check and supervision of the Board of Control. A draft of every despatch

responsibility would be exacted under the new form of Government proposed—namely, a Minister of the Crown, assisted by a Council appointed by the Crown, and subjected to the control of Parliament. He was far from desiring to give any—the least—offence to the House, but he thought, with all due deference, that that House would not, could not, and ought not, to attempt to exercise the control over the proceedings connected with the government of India which was now exercised by the East India Company. They might depend upon it that, as soon as the present excitement subsided, that House, generally speaking, would relapse into the same indifference which it almost invariably showed with regard to questions relating to India. When the present crisis passed away, India would again become the "dinner-bell" of the House; for, as Lord Macaulay once truly said, a turnpike Bill, or a riot in Covent Garden, always

is sent up to the President of the Board of Control, is considered and revised by him, is sent back to them; is submitted to a Committee at the India House, and then to the Court, and is then carefully revised; and it is only just to the Directors that I should say, as far as my experience goes, I have reason to know that the most careful attention has been given by them to every important despatch. It is quite true that the President of the Board of Control has the power of overruling, in the last resort, the Court of Directors. I therefore fully admit I am responsible to this House for any acts in the administration of India, just as the Secretary of State for the Colonies is responsible for the acts of administration connected with his department. Honourable gentlemen seem to treat this question in a very singular manner; for at one time we are told it is impossible to say that the Court of Directors can be responsible, and at another time it is impossible to say they are not responsible; and, again, that they cannot find out who are responsible for the Government of India. The simple state of the case is, that the President of the Board of Control is the person responsible to Parliament for the Government of India. But this is nothing new; Lord Grenville stated the same fact in 1813."—*Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, Vol. V., 1853, p. 1137.

commanded more attention in Parliament than the most important question connected with India. His hon. friend, the Member for Devonport (Sir E. Perry) had already anticipated that spirit of indifference, for, in the speech he addressed to the House on the question under discussion, he urged them to strike now, and so accomplish the object they had in view, "for it was only in times of emergency that the time of Parliament and the attention of the country could be directed to Indian questions." Then he (Mr. Willoughby) said the House could not exercise the control which the Government expected it would do. He did not mean, of course, that a great question connected with India, exciting general interest, might not command the attention of the House, and be fairly and deliberately debated. He alluded to the questions which ordinarily came under discussion before the Court of Directors. In the first place, the Members of the House, generally speaking, did not possess the necessary information; secondly, it could not spare time to do so from the consideration of domestic politics and concerns of this country; and for those reasons they ought not to make the attempt. The fact was, that, according to his small experience, responsibility to Parliament simply meant, that when a minister was strong, and backed by a strong party, he was unaccountable; when weak, he was assailed with party violence, and often compelled to do what was wrong, or blamed for doing what was right. But, in the words of the historian:—

"It was acknowledged that it was of vital importance to the prosperity and preservation of India that it should be subjected to an intermediate governing body, unconnected with party politics or Parliamentary divisions, and independent of the changes of Ministry in England; one that should look to the government of India as its sole interest and obligation, and should not be liable to be diverted from its one great duty by the manifold objects which, whether of European or purely British origin, whether of great or trivial magnitude, must ever render Indian interests of secondary weight with a British Administration."*

It was true that in some cases this barrier against party influences and Parliamentary conflicts—this breakwater—had been broken through, to the discredit of the nation; but these exceptions undeniably proved the value of the check thus wisely interposed by the wisdom of preceding Parliaments. He might mention as instances of that, the celebrated case of the Lucknow bankers, and that of the Nozid Zemeendar, of which, in allusion to the Parliamentary influence successfully exerted, Lord Brougham observed,—

"Unless some such agency was at work, nothing could be found to sanction the extraordinary interference of the Legislature to pass an Act in favour of a claim contaminated in its origin and illegal in its prosecution."

Another case which occurred in 1832, was that of Mr. Hutchinson, an officer of the Company, who, contrary to the regulations of the service, had engaged in pecuniary transactions with the Rajah of Travancore. He presented a Bill to that House; it passed through several stages, but was ultimately thrown out through the opposition of the Court of Directors, aided by the transcendent ability of Mr. Macaulay, then Secretary to the Board of Control. So with the case of the so-called Nawab of Surat. He did not intend to go into the merits of that case; but when it was discussed in that House, a tolerably large

* Wilson's British India, vol. 3, p. 506.

attendance was obtained through means of an active canvass, or of the process designated in America by the term "lobbying," although, a few days afterwards, the President of the Board of Control delivered his budget to nearly empty benches. So much importance attached to this point, that he must be permitted to read the evidence of a very competent authority, Sir Charles Trevelyan. Sir Charles was one of the ablest officers of Her Majesty's Government, but one whom India claimed as her own, because it was there that he had received his first lessons in statesmanship, and who therefore looked upon the question from an Indian as well as an English point of view. The following was the evidence he gave before the India Committee of 1853, with reference to the Court of Directors as the chief Governing body for India, in contrast to the Home Government:—

"It is most essential that the governing body in India and England shall not be subject to party influences. This object also has been satisfactorily attained:—there is an entire absence of party feeling in India; everything is decided on its own merits. Whatever faults the Court of Proprietors may have, it has furnished an independent basis for the Government of India. Deriving their power from a separate source, the Directors have not been influenced by political changes. They are taken from the best and most substantial portion of the middle class; they have the English element without any objectionable admixture of English party spirit. It is not the practice for them to take office under the Queen's Government; it is eminently a Government of the middle classes, and of the best portion of them. Their independence, also, in a secondary degree, rests upon their local position in the City of London, instead of their being at Westminster, and also upon their number being considerable. I consider that there would be very great danger in putting the Government of India immediately under the Government of England."

He then designated as the fatal detriment of the House of Commons—

"The evil principle which is known under many forms and names, party-patronage, favouritism, jobbing."

He thus adverted to the action of this evil principle:—

"The Executive Government depends for its political existence and success upon the House of Commons. Each individual Member of the House of Commons depends for political existence and success upon his constituents. Even in ordinary times the Executive Government and individual Members of Parliament find it difficult to refuse favours which it is in their power to grant, however strong the reasons may be against granting them; and when parties are evenly balanced, or great questions have to be carried, or a Government has to be maintained in power, or an Opposition has to be lifted into place, things are done in this country, in the face of our active public opinion, and free press, and freedom of exposure in Parliament, which show how much greater the evil would be if India were brought within the direct action of our party politics."

He had several other great authorities on the same subject, but he thought that would be quite sufficient. It was true that the noble Lord at the head of the Government had spoken lightly of these great dangers in introducing his measure, but he (Mr. Willoughby) confessed he was disposed to agree with the opinion expressed by one of the ablest of the servants of the Company, the late Sir Charles Metcalfe, who, though an "old Indian," one of that class which the hon. and learned member for Sheffield (Mr. Roebuck) considered perfectly incompetent to have any share in administering the affairs of India, had stated it to be his conviction that if ever our empire in the East received its death blow it would be in the House of Commons. Upon the next subject to which he would take the liberty of referring, that of patronage, he was very sensitive, perhaps Utopian. He had always been of opinion that no greater trust could be confided to man, or one involving more responsibilities, than that of selecting fit and proper persons to fill offices of high trust and responsibility. That trust, in his (Mr. Willoughby's) opinion, is not sufficiently fulfilled by

selecting one who is merely qualified; but the most competent man available should be selected. That opinion, no doubt, had been imbibed in India, where patronage was, for the most part, exercised for the good of the public service alone. It was his good fortune about twenty years ago to be associated in high official position in India with one of the best, ablest, and most conscientious men he ever met with—the late Sir Robert Grant. Upon one occasion he was consulted by Sir Robert regarding an appointment of great importance. He sent to the Governor a list of the names of those whom he (Mr. Willoughby) thought had any pretensions to the appointment, and in giving his opinion in favour of one, he enclosed an extract on patronage from a book called "The Original," written by a well-known police magistrate in this metropolis. He marked the passage then, and little thought at that time he should ever have occasion to use it in the House of Commons. In the chapter, entitled "Preferment in Places," Mr. Walker said:—

"I have often wondered, both in reading history and in observing my own times, that there are so few examples of the worthy employment of patronage. It might be supposed the glory and influence that would result from it to men in high place would have made that the rule which unfortunately for mankind is but the exception. It is marvellous that the feeling of responsibility, that the consciousness of the destiny of millions being in their hands, that the love of the approbation of the wise and good, do not outweigh in the minds of Kings and Ministers all lesser considerations. Nothing would so effectually excite honourable ambition as the conviction that the road to preferment lay open to merit alone, and that every place would be bestowed, without other consideration, upon the person most fitted to fill it. All patronage is a trust; and bestowing preferment unworthily is a violation of a trust, and the greater the unworthiness the greater the violation. It is not enough to prefer those who are fit; the choice should fall upon the most fit. It is not enough to choose from those who apply; the most meritorious should be sought out, and the preferment

offered to them, not as matter of favour and obligation, but as something required to be accepted from a sense of public duty.

"It is true these are not the doctrines generally received; if they were, patronage would not so openly be made an instrument for creating undue influence or upholding party, nor would the public service be so often sacrificed for the sake of making provision for relations, friends, and dependents—a system which, strange to say, has many advocates amongst those who think rightly on other points. In my opinion, there is nothing more deserving of reprobation in public men than abuse of patronage, because I think there is nothing more detrimental to the public welfare. It not only discourages existing merit, but it encourages importunity, intrigue, servility, profligacy of principle, and many other base qualities which spread their pestiferous influences over society. It enables men in power to maintain themselves by other supports than that of public opinion, and surrounds them by a phalanx of hangers-on who effectually deter the meritorious from making their approach."

He had read that passage, in order to state that, according to his own experience, the patronage of India was distributed upon the principles laid down by Mr. Walker to a greater extent than in any quarter of the globe. He did not pretend to say that interest and influence had not sometimes their weight in India, as everywhere else, nor did he wish to be understood as referring to the ordinary routine appointments in the service, which must pass to a class of persons specially trained up to fill them; but his remarks were applicable, in all their force, to what were known as "selected appointments," large in number, and open both to civil and military officers. These appointments involved the greatest responsibility: and in the exploits of the noble men who had lately brought themselves under the public notice, we were reaping the fruits of the system by which the most important offices in India were given to those best qualified to fill them. He could venture to assert that, in these cases, merit and qualification for the most part secured the appoint-

ment; and in this manner some of the most distinguished servants of the East India Company obtained their first introduction into the public service. A very salutary check existed even with respect to the ordinary appointments. The Governor, of course, had the initiative, and may even overrule his Council; the latter, however, have the power, on good and sufficient grounds, to object, and finally to record their dissent—the proceedings in such cases being reported to the Home authorities, which constituted another great check against the abuse of patronage. He had frequently exercised this privilege, sometimes on merits, but oftener on the ground of infraction of some rule or regulation—such, for instance, as not having passed in the languages, withdrawing more than the prescribed number of officers from the same regiment. The Governor was checked by his Council; and it was one of the objections of the present Bill that it proposed to do away with that arrangement. An "old Indian" like himself could not be expected to look favourably upon a measure which substituted for the existing system the one which prevailed in this country. Here each Government distributed its patronage among its own friends and supporters. Under a Whig Administration the stream flowed in a Whig direction, and under a Conservative Government in a Conservative direction. Nor was the apprehended evil a light one. It was a great mistake to suppose that the patronage involved in the proposed change amounted to only a few cadetships. There was, besides, naval, legal, educational, and other patronage, and it was elicited

in the course of the evidence taken before the Committee of 1853, that those appointments were at present made in an unobjectionable manner. The initiative devolved upon the Chairman for the time being, but his nominations must be confirmed—they were often canvassed and sometimes put aside—by the Court of Directors.* He understood it to be the intention of the Government to keep the Native army distinct, but to amalgamate the Company's European troops with the Royal forces. He

* The following is extracted from the evidence obtained by the Lord's and Common's Committees in 1853, respecting the patronage then vested in the Court of Directors of the East India Company:—

The Court has the absolute right of making the first appointments in all cases to the various services, civil, military, medical, and naval. The number of appointments for the year being ascertained, is divided into twenty-eight parts; two of these go to the Chairman, two to the Deputy-Chairman, one to each of the other twenty-two Directors actually in office (six being out by rotation), and two to the President of the Indian Board. Chaplains also are appointed by the Court, the nominations being taken in rotation. The Court has also the power of appointing general officers on the staff for the Company's Army, the Superintendent of the Indian Navy, the Master Attendant in Bengal and at Madras, and volunteers for the pilot service; Assay Masters for the Mint; the Law Officers of the Government at each of the Presidencies, and the Members of Council, as well that of India, as those of Madras and Bombay, with the exception of the fourth or legislative Member of the Council of India, whose appointment is subject to the approbation of the Crown. Beyond these, the Court is precluded from interfering with appointments in India, except in cases in which the Board concurring, it may be deemed necessary. If injustice be done in India, an appeal to the Court is open to the aggrieved. To the appointments above-mentioned the Chairman of the day nominates, subject to the confirmation of the Court, and his recommendation is occasionally overruled. In case of the dismissal of any officer by the Indian Government, the Court may, with the concurrence of the Board, reinstate him, and this power is occasionally, but not frequently, exercised. Subject to the approval of the Crown, the Court has further the power of appointing the Governor-General, the Governor of the subordinate Presidencies, and the Commanders-in-Chief. Finally, the Court has the power of recalling or removing any of the officers or servants of the Company, unless in a few exceptional cases appointed by the Crown, on default of the Court, and this power is absolute and uncontrolled.

thought that would be found a more difficult arrangement than seemed to be anticipated. This, however, would at once transfer to the Horse Guards 17,596 men, and 1,531 officers—a very serious matter as regarded the distribution of patronage. But his greatest apprehension related to the patronage in India, a matter which had been touched upon by the hon. and gallant Member for Aberdeen (Colonel Sykes). The Government, no doubt, believed the Bill to be a good measure, and it would be unfair to them to suppose that it was not introduced by them under that supposition. If it was in their power, he believed they would be glad to be relieved of the patronage question altogether; but that was impossible. It was the duty of a wise Parliament to foresee and to guard against possible danger. Suppose the case of a weak Minister, who had not the power or the strength to resist, or, what would be worse, an unscrupulous Minister, who was courageous enough to appropriate, and avail himself of the vast power conferred by Indian patronage? It is not exaggeration to say, that giving to the Imperial Minister the Indian patronage would enable him to convert the Treasury bench into a freehold.* Just let the House consider how the Bill proposed prepares and paves the way for such a Minister. The Minister is to appoint the Governor-General and

* "My own opinion is, that nothing would be more dangerous than to give the Crown the whole control of the thousands upon thousands of the population in that part of the British dominions."—Speech of Lord John Russell, India Debate, 1853.

the Governors of Presidencies; and the Governor-General and the Governors are to appoint their own Councils. And then what check would there be in such a case? The check at present was, that in case of any wrong appointment, or any deviation from the regulations, it very rarely escapes the scrutinizing eyes of the Court of Directors, and, although detection might be late, it was certain to be brought under their notice, when often the objectionable act was undone, or, if not, a censure was passed which prevented a repetition of it. The Bill interposed no check at all. He was bold enough to say that it would not be in the power of Parliament to apply any check. The hon. and gallant Member had also anticipated him on another point—he alluded to the amount of patronage to be disposed of. Let it not be supposed that there was not a wide field open for a vast amount of patronage. There were the whole covenanted and military services, all the staff appointments, most of which were by selection: but, above all, to keep within the mark, there were hundreds—his hon. Friend had said many thousands—in which latter calculation were included all the subordinate appointments held by Natives, and in saying many hundreds, he (Mr. Willoughby) only included those that were held, or likely to be held, by Europeans—hundreds of appointments that would come within the range of the patronage of the British Government. There were the deputy magistrates, the deputy

police magistrates, and magistrates at the different Presidencies, the survey officers, the legal officers, and an immense number of miscellaneous appointments too numerous to recapitulate. It might be said, in reply to this, that even under the present system the Government influence was felt in regard to appointments in India. In the course of a long official career in India he had known instances of Downing Street influence in India, but they were rare, and the check of the Court of Directors was useful in resisting them; and even supposing there was a desire in a Minister to ask the Governor-General to serve his friends, under existing checks it would be detected and disapproved of. Under the present system the Governor-General was, to all intents and purposes, a servant of the East India Company. He (Mr. Willoughby) had the misfortune to differ from the hon. and gallant Member for Reigate (Sir H. Rawlinson), upon many points, but there were some in which he entirely concurred. The hon. and gallant Gentleman had lately had to undergo the ordeal of an electioneering canvass, in the course of which he had been called upon to state to his constituents his opinions upon different matters. In one of those addresses the hon. and gallant Member referred to the danger of Parliamentary action upon the welfare of India, although it appeared now, that notwithstanding his opinions upon that point, he intended to support the Government measure. The hon. and gallant Member, in

another of his addresses to his present constituents, said—

"The object of the Directors was to improve India for the benefit of England, and if that object could be better obtained by the Crown, then, in God's name, let the Crown have it."

To which he (Mr. Willoughby) cried Amen! If he thought that the transfer of the Government to the Crown would benefit India, he would say, abolish the Court of Directors at once—

"But he doubted very much if the people of England had as yet begun to realize the importance of the step which was about to be proposed. He doubted if the taxpayers of England were aware that in taking that liability upon them they took upon themselves the liability of £100,000,000 sterling. There would be a difficulty, too, in transferring East Indian establishments to the Crown, because they were on a different system. But the great danger was from the increase it would give to the power of the Crown, a point upon which Englishmen were ever most jealous. When the Bill was proposed in the last century it was opposed entirely on the consideration that it was of the utmost danger to place an overwhelming influence in the hands of the Crown. He was quite ready to admit that means must be devised for preventing that evil, and for throwing open the patronage to the country at large; and, in that case, he would go hand in hand with the Government in carrying through the measure. It had been said that it would make no difference to the people at large whether the Crown or the Company had the patronage, because the military services would be recruited from the ranks of the middle classes as they were at present. That was the opinion stated in an article of the *Times*—an article intended to support the Government measure, but it omitted a most important question. The hard-working people would no doubt be of the middle class; but the sugar-plums would be reserved for the upper class. The great benefit of the present system was, that after a man entered the Indian service he arrived gradually at the top; but in the other system he might work for twenty or twenty-five years, and then have the sugar-plum taken from his mouth, and put into that of some titled favourite of the Horse Guards."

Upon another occasion something like the same sentiments had been expressed by the hon. and gallant member. In a speech he had made in the Court of Proprietors, he said:—

"If selection, indeed, should be substituted for seniority in the higher

grades and commands, and if the nomination were to rest with the authorities at home, I should apprehend that the rank and file of the army, the hard-working men who had done subaltern's and captain's regimental duty in the country, would be generally superseded by nominees from England, and that the *morale* of the army would thus seriously suffer. This is of course an evil to be guarded against, but it is not one of paramount importance or of constitutional danger!"

There were many other topics upon which he (Mr. Willoughby) wished to make some remarks, but the present was perhaps not the fittest occasion for them, and he had already trespassed at too great a length on the attention of the House. He should, therefore, confine himself to stating a few of the objections which he felt respecting the Bill itself. He was quite certain from his own experience of the quantity of work to be done, that a Council of eight would never be able to do it. It would be physically impossible. He did not pretend to say that, if the work were to be slurred over, or done in a superficial manner, eight, or even two or three would not be enough, but to do it in the careful manner it had hitherto been done would require a Council of more than eight. The old system of governing India might appear to be somewhat cumbrous. The correspondence from India might appear to be unnecessarily voluminous, and he did not pledge himself that in some details improvement and simplification might not be introduced; yet if they were to abolish the long existing system to which was attributable much of the efficiency of Indian government, which required that records of all transactions should be sent home, they would at the same time remove

all checks upon malversation.* With respect to the Court of Proprietors he regretted that it was intended to abolish it. He remembered, when in India, reading debates in that Court which were of great value and importance to India. It was true that lately the debates had fallen off in value, but it did not follow that therefore they should destroy a constituency which he considered to be a useful safety-valve—a means of ventilating Indian questions before an audience who would pay attention to them. He did not mean to say that the Court should not be reconstituted, and the anomaly of giving votes to ladies removed, yet he would maintain it in a remodelled and improved

* The following, extracted from the evidence obtained by the Committees of 1853, will give some idea of the increase of business which had then taken place; and, since 1853, I believe it will be found that there has been a still further increase.

In 1834 the number of despatches from India was 778; in 1851 it was 2,090; in 1834 the number of despatches to India was 667; in 1851 it was 1,012; in 1834 the number of miscellaneous letters addressed to persons in this country was 2,850; in 1851 it was 4,500.

A despatch may be received containing sixty, or a hundred, or two hundred cases; and the despatch, in itself voluminous, is rendered more so by *collections* attached to it, containing copies of all former correspondence on the subject or subjects of all letters written thereon by various local officers, and all papers relating thereto. There has not long since been in the Revenue Department a despatch with 16,263 pages of collections. In 1845 there was one in the same department with 46,000 pages, and it was stated that Mr. Canning some years since in the House of Commons mentioned a military despatch to which were attached 13,511 pages of collections. To illustrate the increase of business, a statement was put in, showing the number of despatches received from the different Governments of India in 1830 to have been 602, while in 1849 they were 2,445. Previous communications submitted to the Board in 1830 were 173; in 1849 they were 404—drafts of despatches laid before the Board in 1830 amounted to 617; in 1849 they had increased to 909; in 1830 the collections of papers appended to the previous communications or to the drafts were, in number, 1,440; in 1849 they were 5,720—the number of pages in those collections in 1830 were 103,710; in 1849 the pages were 212,075.

shape.* The Bill proposed that the Governor-General should appoint his own Council. This he thought wrong. At present the Council were appointed by the Court of Directors to assist and advise the Governor-General, and certainly from the mode in which Governors-General and Governors were sent out, it was necessary that they should have persons of local experience to advise them. He did not mean to make that statement offensively, for, taking all things into consideration, he believed that the Governors-General, and Governors of Presidencies sent out from this country, had been, for the most part, able and distinguished men. He was speaking of their Indian experience. The Council were not only advisers but they were checks. At present the Council acted as a check upon the commission of any job by the Governor-General or the Governors of Presidencies, but if the Governor-General is to select his own Council, that check would be gone. He would not say he had not seen some jobs attempted. In the course of the debates, many erroneous statements had been made with regard to the Directors, to some of which he would now refer. The honourable and learned Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Ayrton) had done injustice to the Court of Directors in respect to the question

* A recent Parliamentary return shows that there are 5,782 proprietors of East India Stock, of whom 4,750 are males, and 1,032 females. The proportion who hold £1,000 and upwards, and who are, therefore, qualified to vote, are 1,255 males and 408 females.

of patronage, for although what he had said was technically right, it was substantially wrong. The hon. and learned Member said that the Court of Directors, in its corporate capacity, never gave appointments to the sons of officers who were killed in action, or had died in the service. There was no patronage at all in the disposal of the Court in their corporate capacity; but the papers which had been recently laid before the House showed how patronage had been distributed, and would certainly refute the charge. If the hon. and learned Member was not satisfied with that statement, let him call for a return extending over a certain number of years—say five years—showing the donor, the receiver, and in another column at whose recommendation the patronage was given, which would be the most important as testing what influence prevailed; and he was satisfied that such a return would be most favourable as respected the mode in which the patronage was dispensed. He did not think he need answer the hon. and learned Gentleman's remarks about the last farthing being exacted from the ryots, or the charge that the Natives were reduced to the necessity of eating dirt: and he fancied the hon. and learned Member, when making such observations, must have had in his mind the Oriental expression of "eating dirt." The hon. and learned Member for Devonport (Sir E. Perry) drew a glowing comparison between the Government of India and that

of Ceylon, favourable to the latter. The two did not very well admit of a comparison, but if it were made it would be found favourable to India. A similar comparison had been made by the hon. Member for Poole (Mr. Danby Seymour), the Secretary to the Board of Control, though the hon. Member did not seem well versed in the history of Ceylon, or had not refreshed his memory lately. If he had looked to the evidence taken by the Select Committee in Ceylon in 1850, he would have found that in that island there was an open rebellion in 1817, 1823, and 1848, and three conspiracies, independent of other circumstances of a threatening nature, were detected before they exploded in 1820, 1824, and 1843, and there had been plots in several other years. In a temperate and dignified letter to the Secretary of the Colonies, what did Viscount Torrington say of the state of Ceylon in 1817? The noble Lord stated—

"It is necessary to remind you of the state in which I found Ceylon on my assumption of the Government in 1847, its treasury nearly empty, its current expenditure largely in excess of its annual income; its commerce declining; the cultivation of its staple products, coffee and cinnamon, suddenly arrested and discouraged, and its general condition leading rapidly to bankruptcy."

He, however, was ready to acknowledge that, since 1847, the condition of Ceylon had improved wonderfully; but, he must add, that it was to the credit of the East India Company that it was so, for a large portion of the improvement was due to an Indian official, the late Sir G. Anderson. He was much inclined to notice some of the many fallacies

which were entertained with respect to India. He had read with great interest the numerous speeches made on the subject by Members of Parliament and others, and observing the great amount, he would not say of ignorance, for that was a strong term, but of want of information exhibited, he was not surprised that the East India Company were described as tyrants and oppressors. The hon. Member for Salford (Mr. Massey), in an address to his constituents, stated that Bhuddism and Christianity could not stand together. Now, Bhuddism was the religion of Ceylon, but it was not the religion of India. Then the hon. Member advocated the principle of toleration, but immediately afterwards explained that he meant toleration between different sects of Christians, but that toleration of Hindoos and Mahommedans was entirely out of the question. Now, if India was to be governed on that principle, it would not be worth six months' purchase.* The hon. Member for

* "The causes of that rebellion must be ascertained through a long and painful investigation. He was going to make a proposition which would perhaps startle: he believed that toleration of their faith—the superstition which they called religion—by the British Government had been in a main degree instrumental, had had the effect of retarding the ascendancy of the British name, and preventing the salutary growth of Christianity. But they must not misunderstand him. Toleration was the great corner-stone of the religious liberties of this country; but don't let them abuse that precious word—toleration. As he understood it, it meant the complete liberty to all, freedom of worship among Christians who worshipped upon the same foundation. It meant toleration of all sects and denominations of Christians who believed in one mediation; but, to apply the word toleration to a people who worshipped miserable and blood-stained idols, whose religion was founded on principles shocking to humanity and disgraceful to human nature—to say that toleration was to be extended to such superstitions was, in his opinion, a great abuse of the term. (Hear.)

Dover (Mr. B. Osborne) told his constituents that the Company had swept away the Hindoo custom of adoption, and he went on to add, that it was alleged the miscreant Nana Sahib had been impelled to all his atrocities in consequence of the great wrong inflicted on him in reference to this question of adoption.* Great ignorance prevailed in this country on this subject of adoption. Nana Sahib's adoption was never interfered with. By his own account, he inherited £280,000 from his adopted father; but, in reality, nearer £500,000. What he wanted was, that Government should continue to pay him the pension which had been granted to his adopted father for life; that, of course, was refused by the East India Company. Now, he (Mr. Willoughby) had read a letter dated the 13th June, 1818, from Sir J. Malcolm, reporting that the pension was given to the adopted father of Nana Sahib only for life. Was it possible, then, for the British Government to confer this pension of £80,000 a-year on Nana Sahib? However, Nana

His belief was, that Christianity and Bhuddism could not flourish in the same soil; where the one flourished, the other must perish," &c., &c.—Speech at the Town Hall, Salford, as reported in the *Times*, 14th November, 1857.

* "Another custom which the East India Company swept away was that of adoption, and it is said that the atrocities of that miscreant of miscreants, Nana Sahib, were prompted by personal resentment for the loss he suffered under the operation of this change. He was left the adopted heir of the Paishwa, but the Company stept in and deprived him of the pension he claimed, as inheriting from that prince. The Company left the rascal guns and an embattled fortress, and these very guns he used against our unfortunate countrymen at Cawnpore. If they did the thing at all, they ought to have done it thoroughly."—Speech as reported in the *Times*, 26th September, 1857.

Sahib sent over to this country Azimullah Khan, and some hon. Members might possibly have seen that worthy, for he had resided two years in this country, and was admitted, it appeared, to the highest circles in London and Brighton. That agent of Nana Sahib spent £30,000 or £40,000 in this country, and this circumstance showed the evil connected with the agitation of Indian questions in that House. Azimullah is not the only instance of emissaries deputed to England. After spending so much money in England, he went back to India, having found out that, in this country, people did not administer justice for money. Having thrown away so much money, he was inflamed against England; and again became the infamous councillor of the still more infamous Nana Sahib, and it was he who was sent to negotiate with the gallant but unfortunate Sir H. Wheeler the terms of capitulation, and who instigated Nana Sahib to the treacherous murder of the garrison of Cawnpore. He was a specimen of the men sent over to England to prosecute unfounded claims.* With regard to the law

* These facts are taken from a "A Brief Account, by Mr. Shepherd, of the Outbreak at Cawnpore, and the Disasters which resulted therefrom to the Christian Community of the Station," published by Parliament, No. IV., p. 173, of Papers relating to the Mutinies in the East Indies:—

"The following day (25th June) was fixed by the general for an interview with any person whom the Nana might appoint to arrange matters and accordingly at about noon, a man, by the name of Azimoollah, with a few of the ringleaders, sowars of the 2nd Light Cavalry, came to the camp, and were received by the General in one of the unfinished barracks outside the entrenchment. Azimoollah, who could read and write English, attempted to open the conversation in that language, but was prevented from doing

of adoption, he contended that the British Government never interfered with or violated it. Had they done so, they would have acted in opposition to repeated Acts of Parliament, which declared that the laws and customs of the inhabitants of India were to be attended to.* The right

so by the sowars. It was agreed, upon the part of our General, that all the Government money, the magazine in the entrenchment, with the guns (two only of which were in serviceable order, the rest having been injured and rendered useless by the enemy's cannon) be made over to the Nena; and in return the Nena should provide tonnage, and permit every individual in the entrenchment to proceed to Allahabad unmolested. This agreement was drawn up in writing, signed, sealed, and ratified by a solemn oath by the Nena. All hostile proceedings were stopped on both sides from the evening of the 24th."

Then follows a thrilling account of the perfidious violation of the agreement, by the massacre of the defenceless garrison of Cawnpore, and the subsequent proceedings of Nana Sahib. "Fresh corps were being raised, and recruits daily entertained. A new horse battery was formed. The Zemindars all around were directed to bring in the revenue due by them. New offices were created, and bestowed daily upon favourites. The Ganges Canal (built with so much trouble, and at so great a cost to Government) was bestowed upon the villain Azimoollah, who, together with about 150 of the Mussulman troopers of the 2nd Regiment Light Cavalry, and Tuka Sing Soobedar, of the same regiment (created a Brigadier-General of the Cawnpore division at the time), were at the bottom of all mischief. It was through their instigation that the Europeans were killed in cold blood, as described above; as also the gentlemen and ladies with their families that had arrived from Futtehgurh, whilst our entrenchment was besieged, who were also murdered in the most inhuman manner by the above wretches."

* For having acted in conformity with Acts of Parliament, and repeated Proclamations issued by the local Governments in India, guaranteeing to the natives of India the free exercise of their religion, caste, manners and usages, public opinion has recently been greatly excited against the East India Company, and numerous petitions betraying a most intolerant spirit have been presented to Parliament.

Clause 53 of the Indian Act of 1833 enacts that a Law Commission should be established, among other purposes "to suggest such alterations as may, in their opinion, be beneficially made in the courts of justice and police establishments, forms of judicial procedure and laws, *due regard being had to the distinction of castes, differences of religion, and the manners and opinions prevailing among different races and in different parts of the said territories.*"

Clause 85, with reference to the removal of former restrictions in the

of adoption is one of very great importance in India, as the Hindoos believed that the future happiness of the father depended on certain ceremonies being performed after his death by his son, or adopted son. It was true that the British Government sometimes refused to recognise an adoption carrying with it territorial and political rights; but this was not a prerogative introduced by the British Government, but had existed from time immemorial in India. In refusing to sanction adoptions of this kind, the Company had never interfered with the custom so far as private property was concerned; and, in proof of that statement, he might observe that the adopted son of the late Rajah of Sattara, though not recognized as the ruler of that

intercourse of Europeans in India, requires the Government of India to provide by laws and regulations with all convenient speed "for the protection of the natives of India *from insult and outrage in their persons, religions, or opinions.*"

And Clause 87, which may be regarded as the *Magna Charta* of the natives of India, enacts "that no native of India, nor any natural born subject of her Majesty resident therein, *shall, by reason only of religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under the said Company.*"

All these provisions are confirmed by the India Act of 1853. In like manner, the Letters Patent under which Her Majesty's Courts of Judicature in India are established, contain similar provisions. That of Bombay, established in 1823, prescribes that in the administration of justice, *respect shall be had to the religion and manners, laws and usages of the natives, both Mahomedans and Gentoos*—"for the exemption even of their appearance in Court, in certain cases, if contrary to native laws and usages, and the Court is directed to frame rules and process "*with an especial attention to the religion, manners, and usages of the native inhabitants living within its jurisdiction, and accommodating the same to their religion, manners, and usages, and to the circumstances of the country, so far as the same can consist with the due execution of Law, and the attainment of substantial justice.*"

territory, had been allowed to inherit all the personal property of his father, as well as land to the value of £2,000 per annum. There was another subject to which he also wished to refer, but which he approached in a spirit of great humility. He had never felt more humbled than when he found it stated by an influential portion of the press, and re-echoed from the pulpit and the platform, that the Government had ignored their faith in India. A more unjust, a more unfounded charge than that, he should contend, had never been made. It was said to the Court of Directors: "Did you not preserve Hindoo temples and uphold Mahomedan mosques? Did you not, in 1819, dismiss from a regiment of Sepoys one of their number who had become a convert to Christianity?" His reply to those questions should simply be: "You are talking of past times, and, if you will but bring to notice any remnants of the old system which ought to be dispensed with, a remedy is sure to be applied." But, he would go further, and tell the House that, if they now asked the Missionaries who afforded them the most efficient aid, they would reply, the civil and military servants of the East India Company. It was chiefly through their contributions and exertions that churches had been erected in many parts of India. Indeed, out of five churches which had been built on the Island of Bombay, three had been erected on the voluntary principle. To the Company's servants, also, was India mainly indebted for her

benevolent institutions—a fact to which several Missionaries, with whom he was acquainted, would be found prepared to bear testimony. He was aware that many hon. Members had lately devoted themselves to the study of the condition of India, but it was idle to expect that accurate information upon the subject could be obtained by any man who had not been resident in India. Book-learning might be useful, but the information which it furnished must necessarily be incomplete; and no man could fully understand India, or form a correct idea of the difficulties we have to encounter, without visiting India. He might, however, call the attention of the House to one book in corroboration of the justice of the views which he entertained—he referred to the interesting journal of the amiable and pious Bishop Heber. The right Rev. Prelate there stated that, upon the occasion of his entry into the town of Baroda, a deputation had been sent out ten or fifteen miles to meet him, and that no English Prelate had, since the days of Thomas A'Becket and Cardinal Wolsey, been so well received. The strongest evidence, however, he (Mr. Willoughby) could give the House of the unfounded nature of this terrible charge (for such he personally felt it to be), was contained in what he might almost call the dying words of the venerable Prelate who had filled the see of Calcutta for twenty-five years, and who, in the beautiful language of the Government order announcing his death—

"After a career of pious Christian usefulness as Metropolitan, extending through a quarter of a century, marked by a zeal which age could not chill; and, by an open-handed charity and liberality which have been rarely equalled, this venerated Prelate has closed his long life, leaving a name to be remembered and honoured throughout British India.

"The Governor-General in Council requests that the principal officers of Government, civil and military, and all who may desire to take this opportunity to mark their respect for the memory of the deceased Bishop, will attend the sad ceremony of his interment.

"The flag of Fort William will be hoisted half-mast high at sunrise on the morning of Monday, the 4th of January, which will be the day of the funeral.

"By command of the Right Hon. the Governor-General in Council,

"CECIL BEADON,

"Secretary to the Government of India."

In his sermon preached at Calcutta on the day of fast and humiliation, the 24th July, 1857, the late Bishop Wilson thus reviewed the efforts which have been made for the spread of Christianity in India, and the moral improvement of the people of India:

"Things were better with them than they were formerly. All had been moving on in the right direction for more than fifty years past. Never was there a more just or beneficent Government than that of the British power in India. Peace and security for person and property have prevailed, commerce and all the Western improvements in medicine and the arts have been encouraged; every man stands equal before the laws; the administration of justice is pure; the taxes are of moderate weight; the contrast, indeed, of the equity of the British Government for the last sixty years, with the fierce tyranny of the Mahomedan for 600 years, is immeasurably in our favour. Then as to Christianity, pious ministers of every name and class, missionaries from all the different societies, are protected and honoured. The reverend chaplains have been trebled in number since Bishop Heber's time. Sacred edifices have been reared in more than a ten-fold proportion, many of them with the munificent aid of Government. Native converts have been added in large numbers to the Lord, especially among the Karens in Pegu, at Tinnevelly, Krishnaghur,, and elsewhere. The number of enlightened and faithful European Christians has largely increased in the civil and military, and other services, and amongst the East Indians also charitable designs to meet new forms of destitution are liberally rewarded. Christian education in all our missions and national education not excluding Christianity, though not directly teaching it, is spreading throughout the country. Unity and love prevail amongst the different divisions of the Protestant family. We no longer maintain the old and fatal mistake that Christian men are not to co-operate for anything till they agree in every-

thing. We now hold the antagonistic and true maxim that Christian men should act together so far as they are agreed."

Such was the dying testimony of this good and pious Prelate, and no one, he thought, would hereafter venture to charge the Government of India with ignoring the Christian faith.* He should next advert to the

* At a meeting of the Church Missionary Society, held at Dublin on the 18th of January, 1858, Archbishop Whately thus advocated non-interference on the part of Government, in respect to the all-important matter of religion, the policy which, in fact, has been pursued by the East India Company for at least the last twenty years.

"There seemed," observed this learned Prelate, "to be apprehension spread far and wide that the Government were intending to force the Christian religion upon the people of India, and that it is that that alarms them, but the Missionaries they fear not. And the inference to be drawn from this is, Why has not the whole peninsula of India been overspread with Missionary stations? Government would certainly have allowed twenty times as many mission stations to be established, as have been established. We cannot say that Government, whatever its faults may have been, have prevented that. Had we performed our duty in such a manner as would have overspread the whole peninsula of India with missionary stations, the probable result would have been, that this revolt would not have broken out, or would have been speedily crushed. Now I take this occasion to state distinctly that I earnestly deprecate all allusions to Government. I may add, that I shall of course deprecate the opposition of Government to our efforts, so I shall, if possible, still more deprecate any assistance of Government as Government to it, as it will excite the greatest degree of suspicion and alarm, and raise the greatest prejudice against Christianity. I should say that the maxim of this Society as a Missionary Society, with reference to Government, ought to be the same as the answer given by the French merchant to the minister who asked how Government could aid and forward the commerce of France? His answer was, "Laissez-nous faire," let us alone. We should recollect that Government is an agent which possesses physical power; and if Government, therefore, were even suspected of coming forward to aid missionary efforts by its own power, it would be suspected of exerting physical force, than which nothing could be more fatal to the cause. I say it would be disastrous in any state of society, and it would be more peculiarly disastrous in such a country as India, for this reason: that it is impossible to take away the religion of the Hindoo by main force; which, I believe, is what cannot be said of any other religion under the sun. In all countries, but more particularly in that country, any interference of Government must excite peculiar suspicion; but, as to the Missionary efforts, they have no fear of them, because it is open to every one to listen or to refuse to listen to them as he pleases. I do think that the calamities in India are, in some

question of colonization, and the charge which was brought against the Company in connection with that subject. The Court of Directors were asked: "Why do you not colonize India as Australia and Canada have been colonized?" His answer was: "The cases are not parallel. In Australia and Canada, those who emigrate can, upon their arrival, without much difficulty, obtain possession of land, or purchase land, which will reward the exertions employed in its cultivation. In India the colonist would find not only that the best portions of the country were occupied, but also densely peopled." Another obstacle to settling in India was the nature of the climate; "for the hewers of wood and drawers of water," the climate was a complete bar in the plains of India. There might be a few spots in the Himalayas, where colonists from this country could establish themselves; but, as to establishing a self-supporting Colony in the plains, it appeared to him absurd. Europeans cannot contend against the scorching heats of May and June, or the equally destructive rains of the succeeding months.* He had now endeavoured

degree, to be considered as judgments, not supernatural but natural, upon our culpable neglect in not having overspread the whole peninsula of India, which it was free for us to do, with Missionary stations and schools, for those of the natives that chose to frequent them; and I do hope we shall learn wisdom by what has passed. Let us not come forward to seek aid from Government; let not Government appear in a prominent manner at all; but let us come forward with our own money, our own exertions, and ask Government for nothing more than that they shall let us alone, and not interfere with or hinder our operations."

* The following observations are so apposite, I cannot resist quoting them, the more especially as Parliament has appointed a Select Committee to enquire and report upon the best means of promoting European colonization

to answer a few of the many charges which had been brought against the East India Company. With reference to the Bill before the House, he could only say that the further the noble Lord at the head of the Government proceeded with it, the greater would he find the difficulties by which his path was beset. There was, in the first place, the military difficulty—the dealing with the Company's troops, and defining and preserving their rights and privileges. It was said that an order of three lines would settle; this but such was not the case. The Company's troops had their rights and privileges; and, above all, their own funds, which could not be interfered with. Then came a more formidable question still, that of Indian finance. All the loans had been contracted and obligations incurred, in the name of

and settlement in India:—"There is a manifest disposition abroad among us to apply colonial theories to a country which is not a colony at all, but a great dependency. The cry for more settlers, &c., proceeds on the strange assumption that India is a field for enterprise, like the Australian bush or the Canadian backwoods. But what shadow of resemblance is there between an unsettled waste, and an empire whose civilisation, whether it be good or bad, is as old as its hills? India is full of men to overflowing, and the greater part of it is cultivated close up to its capabilities of production. Immemorial prescription has given it a right to its own laws and customs, to its settled usages and accepted religions. Our obligation is to govern India for its own benefit, and not for ours. Our recent policy has been to permit English born subjects to settle and buy land indiscriminately in all parts of India. The European settler has the Hindoo to compete with, and the Hindoo beats him out of the field by greater frugality, greater knowledge of native character, and a perfect absence of scruple in money dealings."—*Saturday Review*, 21st November, 1857.

No doubt there is a wide field in India for the profitable employment of British capital, and the enquiry should have been directed towards ascertaining, and, as far as possible, removing any obstacles which may oppose the introduction of British capital into that country. But colonization, in the usual acceptation of the term, is an impossibility.

the Company, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer would not, he thought, find it an easy matter to deal with those public creditors who might say to him, "We lent our money to the Company on the faith of their good management, you have altered our security, give us back the sums which we invested." If those creditors were disposed to place a strong reliance upon the wisdom of the new arrangement they would not take that course, but under other circumstances such might be the result. He (Mr. Willoughby) did not say such a demand would be made to any extent. He hoped not, but if it was, he did not see how, consistently with good faith, it could be refused. Then there was a third difficulty, namely, that all treaties, contracts, and engagements had been entered into with the East India Company, and on some of those the East India Company could sue and be sued. How were they to be transferred bodily to Her Majesty's Government? He was not the panegyrist of the East India Company, for he knew that they had committed many faults, and had also borne the blame of many others which they had not committed. But he concurred in all that had been said in the eloquent peroration of the hon. Member for Huntingdon (Mr. T. Baring) as to the general goodness of their administration; and although it was now, in a time of national calamity, proposed to extinguish their authority, he had no apprehension as to what the judgment of posterity would be. In fact, he might say, that

the judgment of posterity had been already pronounced. He meant by that, that as Madame de Stael had remarked, "the judgment of foreigners was the same as the judgment of posterity, because it was free from all prejudice and bias;" and certainly all the histories and travels he had read, from the earliest writers down to Baron von Orlich and the American traveller, Bayard Taylor, were full of admiration of the Company's rule; and one of them, if his memory did not deceive him, the Swedish Count Bjornstjirna, describing it as a living miracle. One word more and he had done. He (Mr. Willoughby) should have rejoiced not to appear on the present occasion in opposition to H.M. Government. He entertained a deep sense of the high honour they had, without solicitation, done him in selecting him, a stranger, to be one of the first nominees of the Crown, and he owed a special obligation to the right hon. Gentleman who had preceded him in the debate (Sir Charles Wood). The honour, however, was unsolicited, and conferred without conditions. But he felt that he only had the alternative of either remaining silent or speaking out, and as his apology for the course he had taken he had only to say—*"Amicus Plato, amicus Socrates, sed magis amica veritas."*

SPEECH

OF

COLONEL SYKES,

IN THE

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

ON

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 18TH, 1858,

ON THE

PROPOSED INDIA BILL.

Pht. 2

WITH NOTES AND APPENDICES.

LONDON:
SMITH, ELDER AND CO., 65, CORNHILL.

1858.

SPEECH,

&c. &c.

MR. SPEAKER,

I would beg the indulgence of the House for a few preliminary words to set myself right with honourable members, ere I refer to the motion before us. Sir, from my long connection—of nearly eighteen years—with the Court of Directors of the East India Company the House may very naturally infer that I have certain predilections in favour of that Court. Great injustice, however, would be done to the Court, and the statements I have to make in its defence would be unfairly weakened, if that feeling were entertained by the House. I have so frequently for many years past opposed the views of the majority of the Court of Directors upon questions of public policy that I have exposed myself to the imputation of belonging to the Opposition benches. That opposition operated among my colleagues to my prejudice. It delayed my access to the honour of the chair of the Court of Directors beyond the customary period. If, therefore, I had any bias with respect to the Court, it would be against rather than in favour of it. I trust, therefore, that the House will be disposed to regard the statements which I have to make on the present occa-

sion as those of a witness to the truth, and not as those of an apologist or panegyrist of the Court of Directors, and I can assure the House that any statements I may make shall be capable of independent verification by any honourable member. I will first notice the grounds on which the noble lord proposes to make this transfer of power. The noble lord says—

"In making this proposal, I feel myself bound in the first place to say, that I do not make it in any spirit of hostility to the East India Company, or as meaning thereby to imply any blame or censure upon the administration of India by that corporation. I believe the East India Company has done many good things in India. I believe that its administratiou has been attended with great advantage to the population under its rule. It is not on the ground of any delinquency on the part of the East India Company, but on the ground of the inconvenience and injurious character of the existing arrangements, that I propose this measure to the House."

Inconvenience and the injurious character of the existing arrangements, then, were the grounds on which the noble lord proposed this momentous change. But what said the Chancellor of the Exchequer? That right hon. gentleman stated that the East India Company had done nothing at all—that all the glory of expanding two small factories, one on the Ganges and the other at Surat, into a magnificent empire that would have excited the envy of Alexander the Great and of Augustus Cæsar was the result—of what? Of the insubordination of the servants of the East

India Company! That assertion is in direct opposition to the admission of the noble lord as to the excellent manner in which the Company had administered Indian affairs. The First Lord of the Treasury also said—

"This system of check and counter-check may be carried too far. There is no doubt that these checks are requisite in every political machine, but you may multiply your checks and counter-checks to such an extent that the functions of the machine, which are intended only to be controlled, are paralyzed for every useful purpose."

Sir, I challenge some member of the Government to give instances in which these checks and counter-checks have paralyzed the administration of Indian affairs. The noble lord added—

"When Indian questions are discussed, it is the constant habit of those who take part in the debate, in impugning what has been done, to make her Majesty's Government responsible for everything that occurs, although they cannot be fairly answerable for things over which they have not perfect control, and which they cannot entirely direct."

I will show shortly where the perfect control and responsibility really rest. What said the right hon. gentleman the Vice-President of the Board of Trade? That the Court of Directors was entitled to neither praise nor censure, simply because for the last seventy years it had been deprived by statute of all power of carrying its good intentions into effect. "In matters of state importance, they were passed by altogether,

and in ordinary matters they were only allowed to interfere after the President had made up his own mind, when their interference was obviously nugatory." "Every week," says the right hon. gentleman, "the President of the Board of Control has a meeting with the Chairman and Deputy Chairman, at which any matters requiring discussion are brought forward. The President's wishes are expressed, and then these two gentlemen go to the India House and prepare a '*Previous* Communication.'" The House shall judge what foundation there is for this statement, or for the right hon. gentleman's ridicule of the system of "previous communications" in the carrying on of Indian affairs by the Company in conjunction with the Board of Control. Here, then, are three members of her Majesty's Government contradicting each other on the grounds for abolishing the East India Company. A "previous communication" between the members of the Government, before the noble lord brought his motion into the House, might have saved them from this public expression of the want of harmony in their opinions. Probably the next member of the Government who may take part in the debate will state some other reason, distinct and opposed to those already noticed, for this transfer of power. The noble lord has truly said that the Company deserves praise for its administration of Indian affairs. Returns which have been laid before the House prove the great progress made in the commerce of India, in its internal administration, in its works of irrigation, its roads, its police, and the

introduction of district courts of law, and in a variety of other matters, during the last thirty years. After the details of Indian improvements given by the hon. and learned member for Enniskillen in his speech, not less remarkable for its brilliant language than its crushing logic—than which, as I have been told by one of the most distinguished orators in this House, no more eloquent display has ever been made within its walls—(cheers), it will not be necessary for me to mention more than one or two facts. During the forty years, from 1809-10 to 1849-50, the nett revenue of Bengal had been increased from 7,151,000*l.* to 13,700,000*l.*,* that of Madras had remained nearly stationary, varying only from 3,620,000*l.* to 3,478,000*l.*, while that of Bombay had risen from 466,000*l.* to 2,330,138*l.*, showing a total increase from 11,238,000*l.* to 19,570,000*l.* The exports from India had increased during the last twenty years, speaking in round numbers, from eight to twenty-three millions sterling,† or 188 per cent.; while the imports from all parts had increased from four to fourteen millions, or about 227 per cent. With such facts staring him in the face, could the Chancellor of the Exchequer justly contend that it was doubtful whether the possession of India had been of any service to this country? Why, such an increase of commerce in India must have tended considerably to encourage manufactures in this country, and so to have created a demand for labour and increased employment of capital, and must have been of great

* Vide Appendix, No. 1. † Vide Appendix, No. 2.

advantage to both countries in their relations with each other. (Hear, hear.) I must make one observation with regard to cotton. The Indian Government has been charged with not doing anything in India to promote the production of cotton, and it has been said by some, that whenever cotton was wanted in England there ought to be found in India a large stock ready to supply the demand. Now, the fact is that the Indian Government has no more right to compel the production of cotton in India than the English Government had to compel the production of potatoes in England for the benefit of Ireland at the time of the Irish famine. It is entirely a question for the cultivator of the soil, and has nothing to do with the Government. (Hear, hear.) But what are the facts connected with the production of cotton in India? During the last twenty years the Court of Directors has spent above 100,000*l.* in cotton experimental farms,—in the introduction of varieties of cotton seed,—and in employing Americans at high salaries to superintend cotton farms; and from 1834-5 to 1855-6, the result is that the export of cotton from India to England has increased 346 per cent., and the general exportation has increased 141 per cent.* I trust, therefore, that I must have satisfied the Chancellor of the Exchequer that this country has derived some advantages from its relations with India. (Hear, hear.) I must for one moment advert to a few words which have fallen from my hon. friend the member for Shrewsbury, and which, coming

* Vide Appendix, No. 2.

from his lips, have pained me. My hon. friend has stated—

"The people of India, inhabiting a country blessed with the most fertile soil, and living under a Government formed from the most intelligent nation on earth, were yet plunged in the lowest depths of misery and degradation. The cause of this was, that they had for a lengthened period been more oppressively taxed than any other people on the face of the globe. The East India Company, as the lords of the soil, exacted from the cultivators rents so exorbitant and grinding as to be wholly without parallel in any other country in the world. One-fourth of the produce of the land was a very high average to levy in the shape of rent; but in Hindostan the proportion reached two-thirds and even three-fourths, leaving to the unhappy ryot the most wretched pittance on which human life could be sustained."

Now, I hold in my hand a return, which is capable of verification by every member of this House, of the revenue raised in the North-West Provinces from the land-tax and all other taxes for 1854-5, from which it appears that in the North-West Provinces the taxes collected under the heads of land-tax, abkaree, stamps, customs, &c., in the regulation districts, amounts to 3*s.* 3½*d.* per head per annum,* and in the non-regulation districts to 2*s.* 3½*d.*, while in the Bombay Presidency they amount to 3*s.* 9¾*d.* per annum.† It is true that it is not only the amount of taxation which is to be looked to, for small taxation may

* Vide Appendix, No. 3. † Vide Appendix, No. 4.

press very heavily in consequence of the lowness of wages, dearness of food, or other causes; but such is not the case in India, for, from inquiries which I made some years back when the pressure of taxation was greater than it is now, I found that, as regarded the relative position of the labouring classes in England and the natives of India, the comparison was in favour of the latter; for the pressure of taxation in India in relation to wages was as 6·94 decimals,* while in England in 1851 it was 8·04. As regards agricultural wages, there is no doubt that they are very small in India, varying from six to eight shillings per month, but that is met by the excessive cheapness of living, for in many parts of India a native labourer need not spend 1*d.* a day.† In fact, as regards the relative condition of the labouring classes in India and England, I can truly say that I have seen in one street in London, when I was engaged in examining the dwellings of the poor, more misery than I have seen in a whole province in India; and yet gentlemen in, and out of this House, make those unjustifiable assertions, which are damaging to the Indian Government, without the slightest foundation for them, instead of previously ascertaining the facts before they venture to make their accusations. As to the tenure of land, it is a complete mistake to suppose that Europeans are excluded from possessing it; the fact being that any one can hold land who may choose to buy it from the Government or other owner, burthened with a light land tax usually fixed for thirty

* Vide Appendix, No. 5. † Vide Appendix, No. 6.

years.* Having disposed of the assertions of my honourable friend, and those of the member for the Tower Hamlets, who ventured to tell the House the natives were reduced to eat the earth they cultivated, I will now come to what has been said regarding the inconvenience of the double government. The noble lord at the head of the Government, with that buoyancy, hilarity, and good humour which are his characteristics, has amused the House with the adventures of a despatch between the Court of Directors and the Board of Control, which he has compared to *The Adventures of a Guinea;* but the noble lord's measure is of far too grave a nature to be treated lightly, and I can only hope that the day may not arrive, although, indeed, it may arrive, and that at no very distant period, when this House will have cause to regard it with sorrow and not merriment. The House shall now have the real history of a despatch—not the ideal history, such as has been given by the Vice-President of the Board of Trade and by the honourable member for Reigate—and having passed the chairs I speak from personal experience. A despatch with its accompanying explanatory documents arrives from India, addressed to the Court of Directors, and never to the Board of Control. It is immediately referred to that one of the three committees into which the Court is divided to which it particularly belongs. These three committees, it should be observed, perform the corresponding duties of the whole Treasury bench, including all the Secretaries of State, the War, Ordnance,

* Vide Appendix, No. 7.

Medical, Admiralty, and Treasury departments; not, however, for a kingdom of 28,000,000 of souls, but for an empire of 181,000,000. At a Court of Directors held on the 10th of December, 1834, it was resolved that all despatches coming from India should be referred on their arrival to their respective committees for answer.* Unhappily, that simple method of transacting business has been subsequently interfered with. It has been thought necessary, that the answers to despatches should be drafted in the first instance in the India House, and then sent, in what is called a "previous communication," to the Board of Control without the knowledge of the committee to which they properly belong. This unfortunate circumstance has originated much of the delay now spoken of as impeding public business. But this is not the worst. I have always raised my voice against the "previous communication," because, in consequence of the despatch going to the Board of Control, and being there adapted to the views of the President, or, rather, of his clerks, it is prejudged. When it returns to the India House, to be laid before its proper committee, where it has to be handled by experienced men, exercising their independent judgment, it may happen that they do not agree with the President of the Board of Control, or rather his clerks. They take the despatch and its enclosures into their rooms; they compare the documents and paragraphs together, making their own notes in the margin. The subject may be one

* Vide Appendix, No. 8.

belonging, for example, to the Political and Military Committee, which discharges the analogous duties of the Foreign Office, the War Office, the Horse Guards, the Ordnance Office, and the Medical Department, for which there are separate departments under the Royal Government. The committee meet once a week; they see and discuss each other's notes, and then determine by a majority of votes on the paragraph which shall go up to the Court. The members of the other two Committees then subject the despatch to the same ordeal, while it is lying upon the table of the Court for a week, and it is finally passed at a Court of Directors, which *must* take place weekly. Is there any Government on earth which can better secure that a question shall be properly ventilated and sifted by independent minds? But, having been previously prejudged at the Board of Control, the chances are that that Board will not alter their views, but will insist on their original impressions; and, of course, the men best capable of judging from their personal experience are obliged either to give way or to cause impediments. This is the real state of the case with regard to a despatch; not one has its origin at the Board of Control. With the business of the Secret Committee, which deals with peace and war, the Court have nothing to do. The members of the Committee have only to put their signature to a letter drawn up by the Board of Control, and then send it out to India. In this way there may be a war of which the Court knew nothing, as was really the case in the Affghan war, and

also in the Persian war, when, as Chairman, I had myself to attach my signature to an order of the Board sending an expedition to the Persian Gulf. The Ministry, therefore, are entirely and exclusively responsible for everything connected with peace and war. And not less so are they in matters of general business, through their organ, the President of the Board of Control, for as the final approval or disapproval of each despatch resulting from the initiative of the Directors is at the pleasure of the President of the Board of Control, so the responsibility for those despatches equally rests with the Ministry. To show to the House the amount of business in which the Court of Directors exercise in the first instance an independent judgment, I have had a return drawn up of the official correspondence which took place during the year 1857—the year after I left the chair. This return embraces the different heads of public business, such as the finances, railways, electric telegraphs, public works, military, foreign, political, ecclesiastical, revenue, judicial, legislative, and statistical affairs.

The number of despatches received by the India House on these matters during the last year was 2,516;* and the number of collections—that is to say, the documents containing the facts or *data* on which these despatches from India were founded—amounted to 16,950. To do their duty, the Court of Directors had, of course, to read these 16,950 separate documents. It will be seen by-and-by whether it is not physically impossible for a single individual to

* Vide Appendix, No. 9.

read one-tenth or even one-hundredth part of this correspondence. The number of despatches sent to India in reply in 1857 was 1,833,* and NOT ONE of these originated with the Board of Control. But I now come to some figures which must amaze the House after the representations which have been made to it by the noble lord and the Vice President of the Board of Trade as to the delay in transacting the general business, and which delay and consequent inconvenience are the only reasons assigned for crushing a great historical corporation. The latter right hon. gentleman, though he had filled the office of Secretary to the Board of Control, has evidently laboured under some hallucination as to the mode of preparing the despatches. In the year 1857 the number of draft despatches approved by the Court of Directors on the very day on which they were laid before them was 1,157.† (Hear, hear.) Those ordered to lie on the table of the Court for further consideration amounted to 464; and, notwithstanding all that has been said about the adventures of a despatch by land and water, the average time during which a draft ordered to lie on the table was under consideration was seven or eight days. (Hear, hear.) I defy any office of Her Majesty's Government to produce such a return as this. Yet the East India Company are to be cashiered for obstructing public business, and the noble lord compliments, and smiles, and slays. (Laughter.) Many of these despatches, affecting as they do 181,000,000 of people,

* Vide Appendix, No. 9. † Vide Appendix, No 10.

are of infinitely greater importance than Acts of Parliament; and in how many of them does the House suppose that alterations have been made by the Board of Control? Out of 1,621 drafts only 140 have been altered (hear, hear), and many of these alterations were merely verbal corrections. (Hear, hear.) Thus 1,481 despatches emanating from the independent judgment of the Directors have been approved without any alteration at all; where, then, is the impediment to good government on the part of the Court of Directors of which the House has heard so much? What delay there is, is caused by the interference of the Board of Control with minute details. When that Board was established, it was intended to prevent the Directors rushing into war or indulging in financial operations which might endanger the welfare of India, but it was never contemplated that it should make verbal alterations in despatches, or interfere with petty details. Now, as a sample of the vexatious meddling by the Board of Control, I will give the House one instance out of a thousand; and, to avoid all personality or invidiousness, I will take a case before the advent to office of my right hon. friend the present President of that Board. A despatch was received in the military department from Madras, one of the paragraphs of which recommended the granting of a pension of fifteen rupees, or thirty shillings a month, each, to the three grown up daughters of a subadar-major, or native captain, who had died after fifty years service, had been five times wounded, had volunteered to go to Java, and had received the military

medal and order of merit. The Directors at once sanctioned this pension, but when the despatch was sent to the Board of Control, ten shillings a month was deducted from each of the pensions. (Laughter and cheers.) This is a type of the meddling of the clerks of the Board of Control, and the chief cause of the delays. The details I have given will enable the House to determine where impediments to the transaction of business arise, and where responsibility really rests; and if delays exist, let them be compared with the delays in the passage of bills through Parliament, and the comparison will be tenfold to the advantage of the so-called double government. I now come to the proposed Bill of the noble lord, which, unlike Fox's Bill, commences, not with the enumeration of certain crimes and misdemeanors, but with compliments. Fox's Bill, which proposed the abolition of the Court of Directors, commenced with a recital that disasters of an alarming nature had long prevailed, and still continued, in the management of the territorial possessions, revenues, and commerce of this kingdom in the East Indies, and then enacted that there should in future be seven Directors, to be appointed by the Government, whose names were inserted in the Bill (hear, hear), and who should be assisted by nine assistant Directors, to be elected by the proprietary body. (Hear, hear.) There was no attempt to abolish the East India Company, and the popular elective principle was maintained and respected.* To these seven Directors

* Clauses 4 and 6.

was given the whole patronage of India*, including the appointment and removal of the Governor-General and Governors of Presidencies; and they were commanded, in case of appeals being made to them, of injury or wrongs done in India, at once to inquire into the complaints, or to state in writing, within twenty days of the receipt of the appeals, their reasons for not doing so. In fact, they were made completely independent of Parliamentary and party influence, and were directed to exercise their authority only for the public good. Such a Bill one could understand; compared with that now before the House it was a gentle measure.† Fox's Directors had a deliberative power, and were to decide matters by a majority of votes without reference to any other body; but the councillors now proposed would have no power whatever; they were simply to record their votes and offer suggestions to the President, but they would have no independent character,—no stimulus to, or pride of action. As they were to go out by rotation, and their re-appointment rested with the President, their interest and their duty might not be always compatible. (Hear, hear.) It might be injurious to themselves to record their votes, and the practical result would be that the President would become a complete despot. (Cheers.) Fox's Bill also allowed the Directors to have seats in

* Clause 16.

† The "Fox's" bill only mangled its victim, but the noble lord's bill, which may be called the "WOLF'S" bill, devours its victim, and leaves not a rack behind.

Parliament,* but by this measure the councillors were to be excluded from that House. Possibly it might be very inconvenient to an autocrat President to have them there. (Hear, hear.) The former measure was, at all events, justified by the anarchy which then prevailed in India, but this Bill was based upon a fiction of obstruction to public business on the part of the Directors for which, as I have shown the House, there is no foundation whatever in fact. As under the proposed plan the authority of the President would be absolute, he ought to pass in review all the 16,950 collections, or data on which despatches were to be founded, relating to twenty nations and 181 millions of souls. Was it possible he could perform a hundredth part of that work? Having passed the Chairs, I have some experience on this subject, and I assure the House that for two years I breakfasted at the India House every morning, except Sundays, and did not leave until six o'clock in the evening. I was obliged to carry papers home with me, and seldom got to bed before two o'clock in the morning. ("Hear, hear," and a laugh.) Yet I never could read one tenth part of the documents upon which I had to form a judgment. But I had means for getting through the work satisfactorily which the proposed despot would not have; I could rely upon the active co-operation and independent judgment of my co-Directors, who, working in their respective committees, read all the papers from India, and, in case of any ignorance or oversight on my

* Clause 27.

part; were able to correct my errors. (Hear, hear.) The proposed Bill provided for nothing of that kind. Under it the whole business would be left in the hands of clerks; because the eight councillors, having no deliberative power or independent action, would have no motive to labour. Did the House wish the Government of India to be carried on by clerks? (Hear, hear.) I must give one or two instances to show how business is conducted in Leadenhall-street. Last year the Government handed over between 20,000 and 30,000 troops to the Company for conveyance to India. The naval department at the India House is exceedingly small, but, with the aid of the six members of the Finance, Naval, and Home Committee, it was able in the months of July and August to take up sixty-seven vessels—steamers and clippers of the first order,—provision them, embark the whole of the troops, and despatch them to India, where they had all landed without an accident. (Hear.) That certainly did not indicate inefficiency, but rather a significant practical embodiment of the "*Phantom*" of the honourable member for Kidderminster? (Hear.) Take another case, which occurred during my chairmanship. An urgent despatch arrived from India asking that warm clothing should be sent to the troops in Persia. It was received on the 13th of October, and between that date and the 20th of November, having put the order into the hands of parties whom it was known would fulfil their engagements, the Directors despatched to India 419 packages of clothing and 349 packages

of boots—in all 768 packages,—and Sir James Outram took them with him to Persia. (Hear, hear.) These were not symptoms on the part of the Directors of inability to do the work which had been intrusted to them. (Hear, hear.) In all these and other cases the responsibility of approval of proposed measures rested with the President; and the responsibility of execution with the Directors. The new Bill would not make the responsibility of the President more distinct or certain, and it would take away the prudent council,—the moral check, and the executive power of an efficient body. I now pass to another and very painful subject, but having expressed in August last my opinions with regard to the mutiny I will not trouble the House with more than a few words on the present occasion. Everything that has come to my knowledge since—whether in the shape of Parliamentary papers or in that of private communications from India or the confessions of condemned Sepoys—confirm me in the belief that the origin of the mutiny was a frantic delusion on the part of the sepoys of the Bengal army that the Government were going to degrade them from their caste. I am convinced also that the mutiny was entirely a military one in its origin, arising from religious panic—a panic which was taken advantage of, *after the outbreak*, by the majority of the Mahomedans in India to promote the restoration of their former power. There were no organized conspiracies among the troops, no common sympathy even, until the punishments took place at

Meerut. From the moment that those eighty-five troopers were condemned to ten years' imprisonment in irons—from the moment they were paraded in the presence of their comrades, and three hours were taken up in fixing the irons upon them—from that moment an electric shock of sympathy went through the whole army, and amongst their co-religionists in the contingents with native powers. Up to that time there had been doubts and alarms, but no common sympathy or understanding. Then, however, every Sepoy in the Bengal army made the case of the condemned his own. Although the objectionable cartridges were really not given out to the army at large, and had only been used at the depôts of the Enfield rifle instruction, each Sepoy said to himself, "I shall be ordered to use these cartridges; I must disobey; I shall therefore be condemned to ten years in irons, and consequent loss of caste, and the question now with me is submission or the extermination of my officers." We have seen the alternative which the Sepoys took, and the lamentable results of it; but the cause of their mutiny, considering their stringent religious convictions, is so simple and plain, that it needs no other explanation than the one I have now given. Predisposing causes there were, no doubt, but ample reference has already been made to them in debate, and the main, the immediate cause, was that which I have now stated. (Hear, hear.) If there had been at Meerut a man like Gillespie, who put down so promptly the mutiny at Vellore, or if the prudent course pursued at Hyder-

abad had been adopted in the first instance, the outbreak might have been extinguished at once. It is quite a mistake to suppose that the disaffection did not extend through the whole Madras army, in 1806, and at Hyderabad the men would have broken out into open mutiny, as at Vellore, had not Colonel Montresor, who commanded, upon learning the state of feeling among the Sepoys, taken upon himself the responsibility of abrogating the obnoxious order respecting the removal of their caste-marks. This entirely satisfied the men; the Madras army has remained faithful ever since, during fifty-one years, and its loyalty has proved of vital importance to us; without it, indeed, we might now have been driven to the coast. (Hear, hear.) To pass to another painful subject—a subject upon which much has recently been said in the pulpit and on the platform—said, too, wrongfully and unjustly, to the great damage of the East India Company in the public mind—namely, that the East India Company, and their servants in India, have denied Christianity, and have not manifested a proper sympathy with the Christian movements going on in India. Now, that might have been true in bygone times, but it is no longer so; nor, to my own personal knowledge, has it been so for the last thirty to forty years. In India the Company proclaims its Christianity at the cannon's mouth by saluting the bishops when they arrive at military stations. ("Hear," and a laugh.) The Sepoys necessarily ask the cause of the salute, and are told it is to do honour to the head of the Christian

Church, the Lord Padre Sahib! Here is no timid concealment or denial of our Christianity! But I will now satisfy the House that the Company has not been slow in giving overt proofs of its anxiety to promote Christianity in India. I recently had a return laid before the House of Commons relative to the annual cost of the East India bishops and the ecclesiastical establishments in India from 1836–7 to 1855–6*. From this return it appears that the salaries of the bishops in the three Presidencies have remained the same—namely, the Bishop of Calcutta, 4,598*l.* per annum, and the Bishops of Madras and Bombay, 2,500*l.* per annum each. The visitation allowances of the Bishop of Calcutta had been increased from 104*l.* in 1836–37, and ranged up to 2,931*l.* in 1844–45, and fell to 752*l.* in 1855–56. The chaplains increased in number from 39 to 68, and their salaries had risen from 38,537*l.* to 51,031*l.* The chaplains of the Church of Scotland had, I regret to say, remained the same, from the first-mentioned year to the last. The expenditure for Church establishments had risen from 3,420*l.* to 6,467*l.*, and the allowance to Roman Catholic priests had increased from 485*l.* to 2,725*l.* In Madras the number of chaplains had risen from 23 in 1836–37 to 35 in 1855–56, and their salaries from 19,153*l.* to 25,056*l.* The expenditure for Church establishments had risen from 1,938*l.* to 2,636*l.*, and the allowances to Roman Catholic priests had increased from 808*l.* to 2,580*l.* In Bombay the number of chaplains had risen from 15 in 1836–37 to

* Vide Appendix, No. 12.

26 in 1855–56; and when I first went to India there was but one for the Bombay Presidency. Their salaries had increased from 13,005*l.* to 18,036*l.* The expenditure for Church establishments had increased from 1,741*l.* to 2,021*l.*; and the allowances to Roman Catholic priests had risen from 552*l.* to 3,147*l.* In addition, 31,457*l.* was expended in Bengal for the building and repair of churches from 1832 to 1852, and 51,192*l.* was expended for the same objects in the Punjab and Bengal for *seventeen new churches* between 1853 and 1856. In Madras, 30,875*l.* was expended for the same objects, and within the same periods, and in Bombay, 28,164*l.*; and it will be borne in mind that all this outlay, of 2,453,882*l.* in twenty years, for Christian purposes, was from taxes paid by heathens and idolators. So far, then, as the Church establishment was concerned, the Court of Directors had, certainly, shown every disposition to promote Christianity. But the Court had done much more and had given grants of money to all the *missionary* schools, precisely as to Government schools, for the purpose of promoting the education of the scholars, whether converts or not. I will read, in order to show what the real state of things in India is, the following extract from a work recently sent to me:—

"About five years ago a document was published by the Rev. Joseph Mullens, of Calcutta, entitled 'Statistics of Missions in India and Ceylon,'* from which the following extract is taken:—'At the com-

* The revised edition was reprinted in London, by Dalton, of Cockspur-street, in 1853.

mencement of the year 1852 there were labouring throughout India and Ceylon the agents of 22 missionary societies. These include 443 missionaries, of whom 48 are ordained natives, together with 698 native catechists. These agents reside at 313 missionary stations. There have been founded 331 native churches, containing 18,410 communicants, in a community of 112,191 native Christians. The missionaries maintain 1,347 vernacular day-schools, containing 47,504 boys; together with 93 boarding-schools, containing 2,414 Christian boys. They also superintend 126 superior English day-schools, and instruct therein 14,562 boys and young men. Female education embraces 347 day-schools for girls, containing 11,519 scholars; and 102 girls' boarding-schools containing 2,779 Christian girls. The entire Bible has been translated into ten languages; the New Testament into five others, and separate Gospels into four others. Besides the numerous works of Christians, 30, 40, and even 70 tracts have been prepared in these different languages suitable for Hindoos and Mussulmans. Missionaries maintain in India twenty-five printing establishments. This vast missionary agency costs 190,000*l.* annually; of which one-sixth —or 33,500*l.*—is contributed by European Christians resident in the country.' At every station there has been some degree of success; there are some villages composed entirely of native Christians; in the principal cities in which the missionaries have been located, the trust of many of the more intelligent of the natives in the faith of their forefathers has been

shaken, while they are impressed in favour of Christianity; in the boarding-schools many young people of both sexes have been converted to the purity of the Gospel; and the solemn scenes of the hour of death have proclaimed that in the near prospect of eternity the hope of the sufferer has been placed upon Christ. The native Christians have been exposed lately to the same indignities as Europeans in the massacres of the Sepoy war; and, so far as our information enables us to judge, they have been equally faithful in the hour of mortal peril."

The result was thus summed up in the work sent to me:—

"Happily, many of the murderous customs that were prevalent at the commencement of the present century are now interdicted. The widow no longer burns on the funeral pile of her husband, or is buried by his side. The deluded victim is no longer permitted to throw himself before the wheel of Juggernaut's car. Ghat murders are no longer committed with impunity. Old men, old women, and children, are not now thrown to the sharks at 'the place of sacrifice' in Saugor. Thuggism has been abolished. Slavery is no longer legally upheld. These rites, and others of a similar character, have gone 'with the dust of dead ages to mix.' The connection of the East India Company with idolatry in its more open and offensive forms has ceased. The evils that yet remain will be exposed in these papers. Until the recent outbreak, the residents in India, both native and European, thought themselves as secure as in any

country in the world. The plains of Bengal had been free from the scourge of civil war since the Battle of Plassey, fought in June, 1757. Until recently the press was free. The proceedings in the courts of justice are conducted in the native languages. The out-caste has the same protection as the twice-born Brahmin. Hospitals and medical colleges have been instituted. There is a cheap, regular, and uniform postage. The electric telegraph is in operation; extensive canals have been dug and irrigation assisted; railways have been commenced; and transit dues on interior commerce have been abolished. For these ameliorations, as 'concerning the kingdom,' the benefits derived from the Government of the East India Company are gratefully acknowledged; their sway has been an unspeakable blessing to these lands; but 'occasion and fault' still lie against them as 'concerning their God.'" Will the noble lord prosecute his Bill with such a eulogium from a missionary society before him?

Now, the House will rationally suppose that all these praises are uttered by warm advocates of the East India Company. They, however, proceed from a missionary journal published in Edinburgh on the 1st January, 1858, designated the "Journal of the Indian Christian Association," and might therefore be taken as the true exponent of the feelings, at all events, of that part of the religious public which did not think that the Indian Government denied its Christianity in India. Nevertheless, the same association in November last presented the following petition to this House:—

Petition Presented by the India Christian Association to Parliament.

"That your petitioners, deeply affected by the calamitous events that have happened in India, have thereby been led to review with increased solicitude the course of policy pursued by the British Government throughout that vast dependency; and while they readily acknowledge that great benefits have accrued to the native population from the just and humane rule to which it has been subject, your petitioners deplore the public reproach brought upon this Christian country by the countenance given to the debasing practices of the heathen by British authority. They are aware that, in some respects, this evil has, of late years, been greatly mitigated; but, from facts that have been made known to them, *they lament to think that the baneful system of caste is still upheld by Government*, that the connection between Government and the Hindoo temples has not entirely ceased, and that, in *various instances, there has been discouragement of native converts to Christianity, who have been treated as if disqualified for employment by the Government, in direct opposition to the course of a wise and impartial toleration.* Such a policy, inconsistent with the principles of Christianity, and with the principles of the British constitution, is now seen, in the light of experience, to be moreover highly inexpedient.

"May it therefore please your honourable House, in any measures which, in your wisdom, you may see fit to adopt for the better government of India, to provide that this public reproach be rolled away, *by taking immediate steps for the complete removal of all Government encouragement of the pernicious system of caste, all public support of idolatry, and all obstructions to the profession of Christianity by the natives, or to the free promulgation of the truths of the Gospel.*—And your petitioners will ever pray."

Twenty-one other petitions have been presented to this House for the removal of the system of caste —against the public support of idolatry and for freedom in religion; amongst which was one com-

plaining of the gigantic obstacles which now exist to the spread of Christianity in India. Sir, I have proved to the House, from official returns and from missionary statistics, that the Directors of the East India Company and the Government in India do not oppose any obstacle whatever to the diffusion of Christianity in India; so far from it, missionaries of all Christian nations, and of all sects, roam over India at their pleasure, and instead of obstructing them, their labours are looked upon as advantageous to the country in assisting to educate the people; and their personal conduct is creditable to the European character in the examples they give of a true Christian life. But it is asserted that Christian converts are looked upon unfavourably, and cannot obtain employment under Government. An instance of a direct negation of this assertion has just come to my knowledge. At Kurrachee, in Sind, there is a convert employed in the revenue department as an assistant. The native convert was not at first allowed the same amount of travelling expenses as the European officials were; but he applied to the Bombay Government under Lord Elphinstone, representing that, as he was no longer a Hindoo, he could not, when travelling in the country, be offered hospitality by his friends, as heretofore, and therefore he ought to receive the same amount of travelling allowances as the Europeans. The Bombay Government, having considered that memorial, issued an order that the Christian convert should be put on the same footing as the European. What becomes, then, of the assertion

that Christian converts are viewed unfavourably, and treated as if disqualified for employment by the Government in direct violation of just and impartial toleration : — and yet such was the language of petitions to the House of Commons ! (Hear, hear.) On the contrary, the Governments in India issue circulars annually to the heads of all colleges and schools, whether Government or Missionary, to send in the names of the most intelligent students as candidates for public employment, without reference to their religious beliefs ; and in the three armies of India, native Christians are entertained as musicians and drummers, and even in the ranks. The Bengal army had in 1852 not less than 1,118 Christians ; the Madras army, 1,663 ; and the Bombay army, 300. In 1850 a law was passed by the Legislative body in Calcutta giving to Christian converts, either from Hindooism or Mahomedanism, the right of sharing in the family property from which they were formerly excluded by becoming Christians, according to the ancient religious laws and usages both of the Hindoos and Mahomedans. This had created a great sensation in India, for a Hindoo son was bound to perform certain religious rites for the benefit of the soul of his father, just as Catholics would have to perform masses to get the souls of their relatives out of purgatory, the Hindoos believing in the transmigration of souls. It was a direct interference with the religious institutions of the Hindoos, and it certainly was an emphatic proof of our demonstrating our Christianity in India at all

risks rather than denying it. Suppose that one of our old historic Catholic families—the Talbots of Shrewsbury, for instance—had an estate entailed upon the eldest son of the family on condition that he always remained a Catholic, and that the Protestant Parliament of this country should pass a law by which a younger son of that family, if he became a Protestant, should be entitled to share in the estate, what would be said in England of such a proceeding? It certainly would not be pronounced a denying of our Protestantism, and yet it was exactly analogous to what we had done in India, nevertheless we were accused of denying our Christianity. I have served a great part of my life in India, and I trust I was not deficient in Christian usages, feelings, and sentiments; the accusation, therefore, that I had denied my Christianity while I was in India is a reproach, and similarly so must it be to the 5,842 British officers and Christian gentlemen now serving in India; and in their name I must protest against that accusation as being as offensive to them as it is unjust. The parties who made that accusation would have done well to remember the Apostle Paul's commendation of charity.

But I must not be misunderstood, for I highly approve the efforts to spread our holy religion in India—a religion which humanizes all who adopt it—but for our own sakes those efforts ought to be made with prudence and circumspection, keeping in view always the inflammable materials with which we have to deal, and the bigoted prejudices of the natives,

particularly in the fatal obligations of caste. Sir Thomas Munro says :—"In every country, but especially in this (India) where the rulers are so few and of a different race from the people, it is the most dangerous of all things to tamper with religious feelings. They may be apparently dormant; and when we are in unsatisfactory security they may burst forth in the most tremendous manner, as at Vellore. They may be set in motion by the slightest casual incident, and do more mischief in one year than all the labours of missionary collectors would repair in a hundred. Should they produce only a partial disturbance, which is quickly put down, even in this case the evil would be lasting; distrust would be raised between the people and the Government which would never entirely subside, and the districts in which it happened would never be so safe as before." Alas, sir, these words are prophetic of the bloody events which we are now lamenting! Not less decided are the opinions of the celebrated Abbé Dubois, who passed thirty-two years of his life as a missionary amongst the natives of the Madras territory, and who made between 200 and 300 converts; but they were all from the low castes, and became Christians, as he says, with few exceptions, from interested motives. In the Abbé Dubois' published work occur the following passages:

"The Hindoos are a people entirely different from all others. You may, if you choose, exercise over them the most despotic sway; you may oppress them by every kind of tyranny; you may overload them with taxes, and rob them of their property; you may

carry away their wives and children, load them with chains, and send them into exile—to all such excesses they will, perhaps, submit; but if you speak of changing any of their principal institutions, either religious or civil, you will find a quite ungovernable people, never to be overcome on this point; and it is my decided opinion that the day when Government shall presume to interfere in such matters will be the last of its political existence.

"All know that nothing is better calculated to produce irritation, opposition, and resistance than contradiction; above all, when the contradicted party is the strongest and most obstinate. Now such is precisely the effect produced by the interference of the new reformers with the prejudices of the Hindoos, and I have reason to apprehend that the opposition of the latter will increase in proportion to the extent of the contradictions to which they may be exposed, *until it shall finish by some explosion, which may make all India a theatre of confusion and anarchy, to which it will be in the power of no Government to apply a remedy.*

"From my Mata, near Seringapatam,

"15th December, 1820."

Here, again, is a prophecy and by a Christian missionary now too unhappily fulfilled. In the face of these opinions and facts, do the petitioners to this House really wish the Government to put down the caste of 160 millions of Hindoos? Could the Government do that, and dare they attempt it? (Hear, hear.)

Sir, I have dwelt at some length upon this all important subject, because if the proposed Bill were to pass, and the uncontrolled minister of the Crown were to act upon the views of the petitioners to Parliament, or if he were imbued with the feelings expressed in the following extract from the "Church Missionary Intelligencer," for January, 1858, the Government of India would not only be impracticable; but we might risk the massacre of every European in the country, and cause it to be deluged with blood:—

"Under Havelock, the 78th Highlanders and their fellow-soldiers fought that series of desperate engagements which rescued blood-stained Cawnpur from the hands of the cruel Nana, and relieved Lucknow before the vindictive multitudes by which it was hemmed in had overcome the constancy of its brave defenders, and perpetrated anew atrocities, the remembrance of *which can never be erased, so long as a Mohammedan mosque or a Hindu temple remain to remind us of them. Until these abominable systems, stained as they are with the blood of innocents, have been swept away, and the land washed from its deep stain of blood by the living power of Christianity, then and not until then, can these wrongs cease to be remembered.*"

Sir, the Archbishop of Dublin, at a meeting of the Church Missionary Society reported in the public journals on the 5th of February, 1858, took a much more prudent but not less Christian view of the duties of the Indian Government. He said that "the propagation of the gospel in India,

instead of conducing to the revolt, had been one of the greatest checks to it. The people of India did not fear the missionaries, but they feared an attempt on the part of the Government to convert them by force. Government has not prevented the establishment of missions. I take this occasion to state distinctly, that I earnestly deprecate all allusions to Government. I may add, that as I shall, of course, deprecate the opposition of Government to our efforts, so I shall, if possible, still more deprecate any assistance of Government, as government, to it, as it will excite the greatest degree of suspicion and alarm, and raise the greatest prejudice against Christianity. I should say, that the maxim of this society, as a missionary society, with reference to Government, ought to be the same as the answer given by the French merchant to the minister who asked how Government could aid and forward the commerce of France. His answer was, 'Laissez nous faire'—let us alone. . . . I do think that the calamities in India are in some degree to be considered as judgments, not supernatural, but natural, upon our culpable neglect in not having overspread the whole peninsula of India, which it was free to us to do, with missionary stations and schools for those of the natives that chose to frequent them. And I do hope that we shall learn wisdom by what has passed."

Sir, I concur entirely with the Archbishop, who fears the interference of Government, for it must never be forgotten that we are but as one to 4,000 of

the natives, and for the sake of our safety, therefore, our efforts ought to be limited to appeals to their reason and judgment, and not be associated with demonstrations of the State to raise their hostility. (Hear, hear.)

I pass now to the question of patronage. This Bill would make the Minister of the Crown the despot of India. All the great offices of State in India would be at his disposal; he would allot them at his pleasure. But the great offices of State were not the only disposable places. There were in India many offices, both civil and military, of from 3,000*l.* to 4,000*l.* a year, the patronage of which had hitherto remained in the hands of the Governor-General and the Governors of the Presidencies; but when the Minister was no longer checked by a body of independent men sitting in Leadenhall Street, who knew how every apppointment was given away, and could call all parties to account, might it not be expected that he would interfere in some of those appointments by means of his direct communications with the Governors in India, without this House knowing anything about the matter? (Hear, hear.) The major part of military cadetships were to be given to the councillors. That was a very proper arrangement as far as it went; but, as these councillors were to be appointed by the Indian Minister, might it not be supposed that he would have some influence over his nominees? Some of the cadetships were to be set aside for the sons of old officers. That plan had often been considered at the India House, but had

been found to be totally impracticable. There would be at least from 1,200 to 1,500 claimants for the 10, 20, or 30 appointments which might be set aside, and who was to decide between them? One councillor would support A.'s claim, another would think B. more deserving, and a third would be for giving the commission to C.; so that it would have to be allotted by a toss up or a decision by ballot. The matter, therefore, was left by the Court as it stood. From a return to Parliament which I have lately obtained, it will be found that the total number of cadetships given away by the members of the Court of Directors from 1840 to 1855 was 5,477. Of these 1,865 had been given to the sons of military, medical, or marine officers, of chaplains, and of civil servants in the East India Company's service; 717 had been given to the sons of officers in the Queen's army. (Hear, hear.) Clergymen, the preachers of peace, would appear to have a belligerent progeny, for 580 cadetships had been given to their sons (hear, and laughter), and the remaining 2,315 had gone to the middle classes of society. (Hear, hear.) I have no hesitation in expressing my firm convictioa —and I feel sure that all my colleagues would say the same—that not one of these cadetships had been given away for party purposes.* (Hear, hear.) When the subject of patronage is considered in a higher point of view, as operating on parties in this country, what do we see? Of course, the party in office at the time took care to sanction only as Governor-

* Vide Appendix, No. 11.

General one of their own side in politics. There was a proof of this in the case of Lord Heytesbury. No sooner had that noble lord been appointed than the Whigs came into power; and though Lord Heytesbury had embarked, they immediately put a silver oar on board the vessel on which he was, and brought him back. In fact, just as parties were in or out, so were the ins and outs of Governors-General of India likely to be. That was dangerous, to say the least of it. (Hear, hear.) There was a mistaken impression in the country that the appointment of the Governor-General originated with the President of the Board of Control. Such was not the case; but the course of proceeding was this:—the Chairman of the Court of Directors, having ascertained the feelings of the majority of the Court, proposed a certain name to the President of the Board of Control, and in case that name proved acceptable it was submitted to the Court of Directors and the appointment was made by ballot, and he was sworn in as a Company's servant in the same manner as a youthful cadet would be. But as the President of the Board of Control could veto any name proposed, the practical result was that a party man only would be accepted; the Directors, however, by the power they possessed, being able to prevent the appointment of an admittedly incompetent or dangerous person; and in consequence, with rare exceptions, the Governors-General and Governors of Presidencies had been men of ability. Not so with the great military commands; and it had been the curse of India, that the Court of Directors

had no power to object to any military nominee for high command. Those appointments were made by the War Department. It was simply communicated to the Court that so and so had been appointed Commander-in-Chief or General on the Staff, and he was sworn in as a matter of course, the only discretion which the Court had power to exercise being as to whether or not they should make him a member of Council. The consequence of the absence of all control on the part of the Court in the appointment of Commanders-in-Chief had been most unfortunate for India and damaging to our reputation. Sir J. Cradock—a military martinet, ignorant of the prejudices and feelings of the Madras soldiery—interfered with the religious usages of the sepoys, and a mutiny in the Madras army was the result. An amiable but incompetent man in bad health was appointed to command the Cabul force, and the result of his want of energy or bad health was that the whole of that force was lost, and their bones lie bleaching in the passes of Affghanistan. I witnessed in the Court of Directors the appointment of a Commander-in-Chief who, after having been sworn in, had to return thanks. That Commander-in-Chief was so feeble that he could scarcely rise from his chair, and I believe that he never mounted a horse in India. I have seen another Commander-in-Chief sworn in with sight so defective that on retiring from the court he would have run against the edge of a screen but for the interposition of a Director. (Laughter.) Again, there had been the appointment of a Commander-in-

Chief, an amiable man, a loveable man, and, I am told, an able man, and one much liked where he had been; but he had never been out of Europe, and was necessarily entirely ignorant of the country and the people of India, and of the peculiar constitution of an Indian force, and as such he ought not to have been placed at the head of the Indian army, and we had now to deplore for the second time the mutiny of an entire army upon religious grounds. Whatever alterations may take place in the Government of India, I trust that some provision will be made that the officers sent out in future to command the Indian armies, shall, at all events, be free from physical infirmities, and shall have some knowledge of the country and of the natives. (Hear, hear.) A very large amount of patronage in India lay under the surface; it consisted of the uncovenanted offices, which were very numerous indeed, amounting to some thousands. Honourable members all knew from experience the solicitations for appointments to which they were subjected from certain of their constituents, and I fear that these solicitations will be increased if the check of Leadenhall-street be withdrawn in the case of appointments of this description, which hitherto have been left entirely with the local authorities in India, but which might be interfered with by recommendations from home under a direct Government; and Brown, Jones, or Robinson, *protégés* of members, might find themselves with snug berths, whether they were adapted to them or not, at the cost of the interests of India. Let the House reflect that the

proposed Bill would give to the War Department and Horse Guards the additional patronage of an army of 300,000 men—the control, if not the direct nomination to all staff offices in India, and the Minister would directly nominate to all great civil offices, and might indirectly nominate to all other civil offices whatever!* Would the House consider the constitu-

* A French Criticism of the Indian Government Scheme.—The *Débats* describes the character of the new India Bill brought in by the English Government, and, while admitting the unsatisfactory rule of the East India Company, it is not blind to the imperfections and disadvantages of the system now projected. "If the East India Company (says that journal) has existed up to the present moment, it is because, in spite of successive reductions of its former power and privileges, the idea of transferring its administration to a Ministry had never been seriously entertained. This is to be attributed, not to any sympathy on the part of the nation for the Company, but to want of confidence in the Government. To place in the hands of a political party the immense resources of the Indian administration would be tantamount to offering it the means of remaining in power, without reference to the tendencies of its policy. England cherishes the idea of political parties, and of being governed by them, and she is persuaded that the control exercised by one party over the other forms the best guarantee of a good government. Public opinion takes an interest in their struggles, and interferes with its advice. But this intervention would be difficult in matters concerning India. Doubtless, when a great catastrophe endangers the existence of the most splendid conquest of England, public opinion is roused, and seeks the responsible party; but this does not prevent people in England from being very imperfectly acquainted with the most important measures connected with the special administration of India. The public has taken part neither for the Company nor for the Crown; and it is known how displeasing to the members of the House of Commons was any discussion on Indian questions before the attention of England had been forcibly directed to the destinies of her colony by the present sepoy revolt. We will take another point of view. Let us suppose a Cabinet to be overthrown on a

tional liberties of the country safe by such gigantic influence being in the hands of military and political question of supplies, of reform, or of policy—questions with which the public is perfectly acquainted; then would the Government of India, if administered by a Minister, be affected by circumstances foreign to its mission, and would be led to lend its support to a measure in no way connected with the wants and advantages of its subjects. These are inconveniences which are not presented by the present system. The latter may be faulty and behind the times, but it gives to the Government of India an independence which is necessary to it."

GERMAN OPINION ON THE "COUP D'ETAT."—*From the Trèves Gazette.*—"Except a few patriots like Mr. Urquhart, the current of 'public opinion' runs at present for the abolition of the East India Company. Let us consider the consequences—very different from what the mass of Englishmen seem to imagine—that such a step, may be in a remote future, would be sure to exercise an influence on the internal state of England, consequently on the fate of the world. Englishmen delight in talking of responsibility; they will be responsible for that step, but before a tribunal the decrees of which do not remain unexecuted! History, our poet says, is judgment. Few Englishmen remain in India for life servants of the Company and servants of the Crown will in future form one class. England will by-and-by be filled with officials, trained in a system of administration incompatible with constitutional government. To imagine that the annexation by England of the territory of the East India Company would tend to transfer notions and manners of law and freedom from England to India, instead of bringing our Anglo-Indian ideas and positions to England, may suit some benevolent country gentleman, some peace piper trading amongst other goods in Christianity, and some German baccalaureus of philosophy. The patronage of thousands of appointments to be augmented in an enormous ratio, if the future Government of Oude is to be carried on in the teeth of native religion and custom, this patronage till now exercised by a body unaffected by Parliamentary politics, will, if handed on to the Minister, enable him to treat the Opposition, that were to be for all safeguards of the laws, as a set of speechmakers without hope, and declaimers without harm. Nobody has till now complained how the appointment of

servants of the Crown in this hitherto free country?* (Hear, hear.)

In the change which it is proposed to make in the Government of India, I trust that the past management of our colonies is not to be the model

a 'special' Minister for India is to avert this obvious danger. As a Minister, he will continue to be a member of the Cabinet; and he could not disconnect his Indian policy from the European policy of his colleagues, unless he were to adopt the beautiful discovery of M. Nisard, of the French Academy, of the 'two consciences,' public and private. There would be no lack of occasion to enrich such a double Government by various deputy consciences to meet various exigencies. A provision, that the Indian Minister should be unconnected with party politics would, of course, prove a more proper guarantee. But then universal suffrage is to be introduced. The general theory of universal suffrage ought to be corrected by what has happened in France; any special delusion about its working in England may be corrected by attending a single public meeting and listening to the amount of ignorance and nonsense it produces. The proposed reforms are a *coup d'état.* They will not make India better, but England worse." [The article from which the above is taken is entitled, "The East India Company and English Freedom."]

* As a proof of the advantage of the Court of Directors having the power of appealing to pubic opinion, the case of the Oude bankers may be adduced.—These men in 1833 endeavoured through Parliamentary influence to compel the Court of Directors to instruct the Indian Government to obtain from the King of Oude payment of Rs. 11,58,700 (115,870*l.*) with 36 per cent. interest, said to have been lent to the King's PREDECESSOR in 1787.—The Board of Control took part with the bankers, and directed the Court to send instructions to India to have the claims liquidated; the Court, knowing thoroughly the fraudulent nature of the transactions, resisted,—the Board of Control applied for a mandamus, and the Court resolved to go to prison; but the Board of Control, not choosing to risk the expression of public opinion upon the case, withdrew the mandamus, and the Court had thus the gratification of having saved the King of Oude from nefarious plunder.

on which the Government is to be framed; for that afforded but a sorry guarantee for success in the future conduct of Indian affairs. Were we to go through the ordeal of a battle with India, and possibly, ignominious defeats similar to those with the North American States, ending in final separation? Or were we, as in Canada, to force a rebellion and acknowledge independence? Or, as in the Cape of Good Hope, produce resistance to imperial authority, Kafir wars (at the cost of three millions sterling), and virtual independence? Were we to have Parliaments with the twenty nations of India, after the fashion of Australia? or were we to reduce India to poverty and ruin, like the West India colonies? or provoke rebellion and outbreaks every two years, as in Ceylon, despite its vaunted administration by governors whose average duration of office was two years and ninety-nine days, as held up for the approval of the House by the honourable member for Devonport, in utter oblivion of the past history of the island! I assert that India would not be safe in the hands of men wholly ignorant of the country and of the habits and temperament of the people, and that there could be no guarantee for the security of that great empire unless it were governed by experienced men who were thoroughly acquainted with India and the varied institutions of her twenty nations. (Hear, hear.)

I come now to a subject of grave importance to Liberal members on the Ministerial side of the House and to the constitutional interests of the country. Let me illustrate every Liberal member's

position by my own. I am a Liberal,—it may be something more,—but I call myself a constitutional Whig—for the present. (A laugh.) At Aberdeen I assured my constituents that I would do all in my power to assist in carrying a Reform Bill. But for what object was this Reform Bill so loudly demanded by the country? Was it to increase the power of the Minister, or was it to increase the influence of the people in that House, and to diminish the power of the Prime Minister? Well, sir, if the latter alternative be the universal expectation, and I should go back to my constituents, which I trust I shall do, with a Reform Bill in my hand, how on earth, in case I voted for the noble lord's India Bill, could I meet the taunts of my constituents, who would say to me, "Sir, you voted, indeed, for the Reform Bill, but in the same breath you voted for an India Bill, which will make the Prime Minister the despot of the House of Commons." (Loud cheers.) It may be my misfortune that I have read Locke, and that my mind has been somewhat trained to logical deductions and to acknowledge the power of a syllogism, and that I cannot consider free institutions compatible with the powers of an autocrat, and that consequently I must have voted against the noble lord's bill upon constitutional grounds, and wholly independent of any personal considerations whatever. (Cheers.) Liberal members around me, who propose to vote for the India and Reform Bills, may have that power, which I cannot claim to possess, of explaining, to the satisfaction of their consti-

tuents, the dilemma in which it appears to me they must be placed by such votes.

The noble lord of course expected that his proposed system of governing India would be characterized by a consistent and permanent policy; but how was it possible to have a consistent and permanent policy for India while the Minister for India went out with every change of administration? (Cheers.) What would have been the result of the constant changes of administration that had been made in past years if India had not had that "consistent and permanent" body which this bill would annihilate? From the year 1784, in which Pitt's bill—which he must say was infinitely more liberal than that proposed by the noble lord (cheers)—was introduced, there had been twenty-eight Presidents of the Board of Control, making the average duration of official life just 31½ months. Was it possible for any man whose official life did not exceed 31½ months to administer any government upon a consistent and permanent policy? But the *permanent* Court of Directors prevented the evils which would otherwise have resulted from these frequent changes. I will not say whether the noble lord wished, by introducing this Bill, to compensate himself for the loss of power which his Reform Bill would occasion him (laughter); but that idea possibly may have intruded itself. Sir, I have demonstrated to the House that there is no foundation in fact for the noble lord's statement, that the acts of the Court of Directors impede the machine of Government, and that it is therefore necessary to abolish the East India

Company. Admitting, however, the existence of impediments; they have been in operation for three quarters of a century, and have been compatible with great material and moral progress in India, and consequently there can be no immediate pressure for a change of government, which will alarm the people of India, and indeed be a premium to mutiny. Have the members of the Court of Directors also, no claim to consideration; men of position, ability, and reputation, who as the executive portion of the Home Indian Government have in no instance failed in their duties. Who in fact hold their offices for terms of years by elections under an Act of Parliament, which, if the noble lord can induce the House to abrogate, then no charter or rights of any corporation whatever will be safe. As the noble lord has not adduced any sufficient public grounds, there surely must be some latent grounds for crushing the Court of Directors, and holding them up to degradation in the eyes of Europe; for their summary and unexpected dismissal must necessarily have that effect. Does the noble lord mean to attribute the mutiny in the Bengal army to the maladministration of the Court of Directors, when the supreme Government has told him it came as unexpectedly upon it as upon the authorities in Europe. It cannot be that the noble lord gives credit to the crude assertion that, in the present bloody contest in India, the Queen's name would be equivalent to an army of 20,000 men. The honourable member for Reigate, who was very deservedly cheered the other night for

the ability he possesses as an antiquarian—(great laughter)—told them that the Queen's name was a host. That honourable gentleman had spoken of his experience of thirty years, but it had been chiefly in Mahomedan countries out of India; for, to qualify him to take his seat in the India Direction by having passed ten years in India Proper, it was necessary to have recourse to the Ayeen Akbari, or institutes of Akbar, and to admit that Affghanistan, in which the honourable member had served, was once a province of India Proper. Now, the honourable member must know, or ought to know, perfectly well, that there had not for six centuries been a Queen upon the throne of Delhi, nor a Queen upon any one of the five Mahomedan thrones of the Deccan. He ought to have known also that the Mahomedan law did not permit a female to succeed to the administration of political authority;* and it was equally the rule and usage with the Hindoos. It was quite impossible for the natives of India to appreciate the affectionate loyalty, the devotion, and, in fact, the love—if I may use such an expression—which Englishmen entertain for their Queen—(cheers)—and which I most heartily and devotedly entertain; but if the Government of India were at present to be transferred to the Crown, the Queen's name amongst the Mahome-

* No Mahomedan lady can let her face be seen by any man excepting her husband or very near relatives, and it is credibly asserted that the face of the late poor Queen of Oude had never been seen by a male stranger from the moment she quitted her palace at Lucknow until her death at Paris last month. Her voice was only heard from behind a curtain!

dans would be introduced as "Padisha Begum"—(laughter)—that is to say, the Wife of the King, and it would be asked, "but where is the King?" (Hear, hear.) Amongst the Hindoos, who were equally opposed with the Mahomedans to the exercise of administrative political authority by females; the Queen's appellation would be "Maharance," Wife of the King or Prince. There had been one or two occasions on which females had been regents for their sons, but a male has always been the object of regal succession.

The statement of the honourable member for Reigate, therefore, was not supported by historical facts, nor by the usages or expectations of the people of India. With all anxiety, therefore, to introduce the Queen's name, let not her name be introduced under a misunderstanding of the supposed effect. Let us have the Queen's name by all means on a proper occasion and at a proper time, but the present is not the proper time. (Loud Opposition cheers.) There is surging in India a feeling which may burst out from one end of that country to the other—from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin. (Cheers.) I ask myself calmly but seriously, "What effect will a present change of Government produce in India?" and my reply is, "The Sepoys and those connected with them will say, 'Oh, this mutiny of ours has succeeded, at all events, in putting down one Government (loud cries of hear, hear)—we have only to try again and we shall get rid of another.'" (Hear, hear.) The present agitation in India ought to be

allowed to subside, the people to be tranquillized, and their fears to be allayed, before any idea of changing the Indian Government is entertained by Parliament; for was it not well known that in many parts of India the remnant of native troops that had remained faithful mutinied not only at the eleventh hour, but at the eleventh hour and fifty-ninth minute, and rushed to certain destruction, because on hearing of the arrival of additional European troops in India they were seized by a fear, and the change of Government would strengthen that fear with all inculpated, of being exposed to European vengeance? Their belief was that the Europeans were coming for the express purpose of putting them to death with degradation, and they preferred death without degradation; the people at large also would consider the change of Government intended to carry out the exclusive views expressed by the Europeans of Calcutta and by part of the press in England; and most of all would they believe that the change was intended to carry out the views promulgated from the pulpit and the platform at religious meetings. It was perfectly absurd to suppose that we could govern India without a very large native army (hear, hear), or that we could retain such an army without to some extent consulting its prejudices. (Hear, hear.) The present vivid impressions from the blowing away from guns, and from the almost unrestrained power of multitudinous hangings, which Lord Canning has so humanely and judiciously endeavoured to limit, (loud cheers,) and the religious panic about caste

degradations would have passed away, or be so weakened, ere long, that a change of Government might be effected without its object being misconstrued or dreaded: but my decided opinion is, that it would be wise to let that administration alone which has been not only compatible with, but has promoted the material welfare of the nations of India and the development of the resources of the country. I care not what form of government it is,* provided it protects

* "Sir, what we want is a body independent of the Crown, and no more than independent, which shall be neither the tool of the Ministry nor of the Opposition. It is not easy in a country like this to constitute such a body; none I have heard suggested would be such a body. The East India Company, strange as its constitution may appear, is such a body. Whatever charges may be brought against it, whether it does act rightly or wrongly, it does not act from political considerations."—*Speech of Mr. Macaulay, India Debate*, 1833.

The Marquis of Lansdowne acknowledged the advantages that had resulted from the administration of the Company in keeping the interests of India excluded in a greater degree than they otherwise could have been from the several chances and changes of party in this country, and as an intervening body in the possession of patronage which would otherwise be scrambled for by the gladiators of Parliament."—*Speech of Marquis of Lansdowne, India Debate*, 1833.

"The real dangers of British India will commence from the day when the party spirit of the British Parliament shall be brought to bear directly on its administration."—*Lord Metcalfe.*

"There is another body of persons on whose behalf I wish to say a few words. The noble and learned lord on the woolsack did not throw any reflection on the Court of Directors, but the noble and learned lord opposite (Lord Plunket) did do so. My lords, I must say that the conduct of the Court of Directors, in this transaction, reflects great honour on them. It does not matter to them whether the recommendation of Mr. Grant be adopted or not, they are in no

the rights and privileges of the people, insuring to them equal justice with their European fellow-subjects: and if Parliament should insist upon the abolition of the so-called Double Government, then let its initiative be the doing away with the Board of Control (great laughter and cheers),—introducing the Queen's name,—the constituting a Council sufficiently numerous to do the work of administering an empire of 181 millions of souls,—placing at its head a Minister of the Crown, with the same powers and functions, and standing in the same relation to the Council as the Governor-General of India does to his Council, and the giving to that Council an assur-

respect interested except as the guardians of the honour and good faith of the administration of India; as such, acting upon their responsibility, acting in the discharge of their duty to those who elected them, and the people of India, they are determined to resist the order of Mr. Grant."—*Lord Ellenborough's Speech in the House of Lords, 5th May*, 1833.

I cannot conceive anything more disadvantageous to the people than their being made the sport of party passions and political feelings which take place in this country.—*Mr. Charles Grant, India Debate*, 1833.

"My own opinion is, that nothing would be more dangerous than to give the Crown the whole control of the thousands upon thousands of the population in that part of the British dominions."—*Speech of Lord John Russell, India Debate*, 1853.

"Is this system to be legally set aside? Is this form of government to be hastily rejected? We have the advantage of the opinions of Sir Robert Peel and the Duke of Wellington in favour of that system of government. They never hesitated or doubted, amid all our difficulties, that those difficulties would be overcome; and if they were now alive, I am satisfied that they would counsel and entreat you, as I now do, not hastily or rashly to tamper with such a system."—*Speech of Sir James Graham, India Debate*, 1853.

ance of independent action. (Loud cheers.) Above all things I beseech the Liberal gentlemen in this House to preserve the elective principle. (Renewed cheers.) If their professions to their constituents be worth a rush they will do so. (Laughter.) India might then be governed entirely free from party feelings. Sir, I have been compelled to trespass upon the House at some length in detailing my views, and I will conclude with the words of a resolution which was unanimously agreed to at a meeting of the East India Company after a debate of four days,—a debate conducted with an amount of eloquence, ability, and of prudence which would have done honour to this House. That resolution was—

"That the proposed transfer of the governing powers of the East India Company to the Crown is opposed to the rights and privileges of the East India Company, is fraught with danger to the constitutional interests of England and is perilous to the safety of the Indian empire." (Loud cheers.)

APPENDICES.

Appendix No. 1.

Progress of Revenue for Decennial Periods.

Bengal.		Madras.		Bombay.	
1809–10.	1849–50.	1809–10.	1849–50.	1809–10.	1849–50.
Nett Revenue. £. 7,151,037	Nett Revenue. £. 13,700,809	Nett Revenue £. 3,620,607	Nett Revenue. £. 3,478,651	Nett Revenue. £. 466,716	Nett Revenue. £. 2,330,638

1809–10.		1849–50.	
£7,151,037	Bengal.	£13,700,809	Bengal.
3,620,657	Madras.	3,478,651	Madras.
466,716	Bombay.	2,330,638	Bombay.
£11,238,410	Nett Total.	£19,570,098	Nett Total.

Appendix No. 2.

Exports and Imports of India.

Exports from India.			Imports into India.		
1834–5.	1855–6.	Increase per cent.	1834–5.	1855–6.	Increase per cent.
£. 7,993,420	£. 23,039,268	188·22	£. 4,261,106	£. 13,947,657	227·32

Export of Cotton.

To England.			To all Ports (England Inclusive.)		
1834–5.	1855–6.	Increase per cent.	1834–5.	1855–6.	Increase per cent.
lbs. 38,268,402	lbs. 170,771,510	346·24	lbs. 98,320,050	lbs. 237,179,949	141·23

Appendix No. 3.

Statement of Area, Population, and Revenue of the North Western Provinces, showing the Population per Square Mile, and the rate per Head per Annum contributed by the Population.

Divisions.	Districts.	According to the Census prepared in 1852-53.			For 1854-55.							
		Area.	Population.	No. of Souls to each Square Mile.	Land Revenue.	Abkaree.	Stamps.	Miscellaneous and Sayer.	Customs.	Grand Total.	Pressure of Taxation per Head.	
					Rupees.	*Rupees.*	*Rupees.*	*Rupees.*	*Rupees.*	*Rupees.*	*s. d.*	*Rs.*
Delhi	Bhutteana	3,017	112,974	37	1,41,936	—	5,538	639	53,171	2,01,284	3 6¾	or 1·78
	Paneput	1,269	389,085	306	8,18,272	7,046	10,092	5,412	....	8,40,820	4 3¼	„ 2·16
	Hissar	3,294	330,852	100	4,66,287	3,748	7,676	867	7,91,018	12,69,596	7 8	„ 3·83
	Delhi	789	435,744	552	4,41,688	60,965	68,803	7,387	11,66,237	17,45,080	8 0	„ 4·00
	Rohtuck	1,340	377,013	281	6,31,166	3,411	11,710	1,145	....	6,47,432	3 5	„ 1·71
	Goorgaon	1,939	662,486	342	10,58,769	6,295	15,148	2,964	13,81,019 A	24,64,195	7 5	„ 3·71
Meerut	Dehra Dhoon	673	32,083	47	42,697	19,298	4,040	1,23,260	....	1,89,297	11 9½	„ 5·90
	Saharunpore	2,162	801,325	370	10,81,962	39,336	50,195	3,155	....	11,74,648	2 11	„ 1·46
	Moozuffenuggur	1,646	672,861	408	11,09,954	35,490	21,489	3,858	....	11,70,791	3 5¾	„ 1·74
	Meerut	2,200	1,135,072	515	17,03,096	84,045	54,246	7,642	....	18,49,029	3 2¾	„ 1·62
	Bolundshuhur	1,828	778,342	425	10,69,629	14,829	23,430	8,284	....	11,16,172	2 10¼	„ 1·43
	Allygurh	2,153	1,134,565	527	19,74,086	37,874	68,959	12,593	....	20,93,512	3 8	„ 1·84
Rohilkund	Bijnore	1,900	695,521	366	12,03,606	19,625	25,062	7,181	....	12,55,474	3 7	„ 1·80
	Moradabad	2,698	1,138,461	422	13,47,988	39 655	69,970	5,142	....	14,62,755	2 6½	„ 1·28
	Budaon	2,401	1,019,161	424	11,19,810	41,269	45,709	3,045	....	12,09,833	2 4½	„ 1·18
	Bareilly	3,119	1,378,268	442	17,76,815	1,24,162	91,670	21,098	....	20,13,745	2 11	„ 1·46
	Shahjehanpore	2,308	986,096	427	10,59,334	87,651	31,117	2,147	....	11,80,249	2 4½	„ 1·19
Agra	Muttra	1,613	862,909	535	16,65,735	30,589	31,041	1,787	....	17,29,152	4 0	„ 2·00
	Agra	1,864	1,001,961	537	16,13,076	50,352	94,063	4,361	19,66,885	37,28,737	7 5½	„ 3·72
	Furruckabad	2,122	1,064,607	501	13,36,845	1,19,639	69,677	2,035	....	15,28,196	2 10½	„ 1·43
	Mynpoorie	2,020	832,714	412	12,63,362	34,572	36,541	963	....	13,35,438	3 2½	„ 1·60
	Etawah	1,677	610,965	364	12,74,134	21,414	15,621	4,861	....	13,16,030	4 3½	„ 2·15
Allahabad	Cawnpore	2,348	1,174,556	500	21,39,950	1,43,460	61,277	8,844	....	23,53,531	4 0	„ 2·00
	Futtehpore	1,583	679,787	429	14,25,680	65,965	25,942	989	....	15,18,576	4 5½	„ 2·23
	Humeerpore B	2,694	605,589	225	11,33,694	30,176	10,412	1,824	....	11,76.106	3 10½	„ 1·94
	Banda	3,009	743,872	247	15,94,652	42,017	26,119	17,135	....	16.79.923	4 6	„ 2·25
	Allahabad	2,788	1,379,788	495	21,28.777	1,43,992	77,203	2,645	4,21,271	27,73,888	4 0	„ 2·01
Benares	Goruckpore	7,340	3,087,874	421	21,27,749	2,03,386	1,13,514	53,178	....	24.97.827	1 7	„ 0·80
	Agimgurh	2,516	1,653,251	657	14,90,890	1,01.372	64,874	3,782	....	16,60,918	2 0	„ 1·00
	Jounpore	1,552	1,143,749	737	12,53,786	68,990	50,217	3,318	....	13,76.311	2 4¾	„ 1 20
	Mirzapore	5,152	1,104,315	214	8,39,509	1,03,930	54,474	20,585	1,19,438	11.37,936	2 0½	„ 1·03
	Benares	995	851,757	855	9,63,645	1,56,376	72,012	4,023	....	11.36,556	2 7¾	„ 1·33
	Gazeepore	2,181	1,596,324	732	15,09,405	1,19,905	1,03,535	2,462	....	17,35,307	2 1¾	„ 1·08
Total Regulation Districts		76,190	30,473,927	399	4,07,47,984	20,61,334	15,11,376	3,48,611	58 ,99.03	5,05,68,344	3 3½	or 1·65

Non-Regulation Districts from Census of 1847-48, the latest date.					For 1854-55.							
Divisions.	Districts.	Area.	Population.	No. of Souls to each Square Mile.	Land Revenue.	Abkaree.	Stamps.	Miscellaneous and Sayer.	Customs.	Grand Total.	Pressure of Taxation per Head.	
					Rupees.	*Rupees.*	*Rupees.*	*Rupees.*	*Rupees.*	*Rupees.*	*s d.*	*Rs.*
Saugor and Nerbudda Territories	Saugor	1,857	305,594	165	7,87,114	27,598	26,320	6,578	....	8,47,610	2 6	or 1·26
	Dumoh	2,428	363,584	149								
	Jubbulpore	6,237	442,771	71								
	Seonee	1,459	227,070	156	6,46,631	51,500	26,124	8,544	....	7,32,839	1 7¼	„ 0·81
	Mundla	6,170	225,092	36								
	Hoshungabad	1,916	242,641	127								
	Baitool	990	93,441	94	4,81,877	64,443	17,637	2,991	....	5,66,948	3 4½	„ 1·69
	Nursingpore	501	254,486	508	3,16,842	17,976	13,387	1,836	....	3,50,041	2 8¾	„ 1·37
	Jaloun D.	2,313	246,297	106	13,76,936	23,121	7,535	20,893	....	14,28,485	11 6¾	„ 5·79
	Jhansee	1,394	300,000	215	4,97,058	14,253	4,497	2,423	2,68,409 E	7,86,640	5 2¾	„ 2·62
	Chundeyree	556	87,260	157	1,21,716	5,026	1,581	2,107	....	1,30,430	2 11½	„ 1·49
Jawud Neemuch	Jawud Neemuch	443	84,866	191	3,55,788	6,221	765	5,834	....	3,68,608	8 8	„ 4·34
Nimar	Nimar, British and Scindias F.	269	25,727	96	1,50,008	18,636	....	24,511	....	1,93,155		
Ajmere	Agmera, including all Mairwara G.	2,891	287,290	99	3,02,274	8,284	11,160	5,606	112,147	4,39,471		
Kumaon	Kumaon	11,972	605,830	50	2,01,804	4,262	11,704	9,544	....	2,27,314	0 8½	„ 0·37
	Gurwhal											
Total Non-Regulation Districts		41,396	3,791,949	91	52,38,048	2,41,320	1,20,750	90,867	3,80,556	60,71,541	3 2¼	or 1·60
Grand Total		117,586	34,265,876	291	4,59,86,032	23,02,654	16,32,126	4,39,478	62,79,595	5,66,39,885	2 3½	or 1·15

A. Collection of the Hodul customs division.
B. Including non-regulation Pergunnah of Mahobah and Jeitpore.
D. Including all Kutchwahagurk.
E. Collections of the Calpree and Rajpore customs division.
F. Area and population for British Nimaur alone.
G. Including all Mairwarra for revenue, but the area and population are for Ajmere and Mairwarra.

Appendix, No. 4.

AREA, POPULATION, AND REVENUE OF THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.

Return of the Area, Population, and Revenue of the Bombay Presidency, showing the Population per Square Mile, and the Pressure of Taxation per Head for each District of each Division for 1854-55.

Collectorate.	Area.	Population according to the Census of 1851.*	Number of Souls to each Square Mile.	Government Land and Sayer Revenues for the Land Revenue Year 1854-55.	Land and Sayer Revenues on each Sqare Mile.	Pressure of Taxation on each Inhabitant.
	Square Miles.			*Rupees.*	*Rupees.*	*s. d.* *Rs.*
Bombay	20	520,758	26,037	1,68,347	84,17,35	0 $7\frac{3}{4}$ or 0·323
Ahmedabad	4,402½	653,730	148	14,14,271	3,21,279	4 $3\frac{3}{4}$ „ 2·163
Kaira	1,375	580,631	422	15,85,472	11,53,070	5 $5\frac{1}{2}$ „ 2·730
Surat	1,482	493,934	333	19,74,754	14,61,698	7 $11\frac{3}{4}$ „ 3·999
Broach	1,351	290,984	215	16,97,701	11,45,547	11 8 „ 5·832
Khandeish	12,078	785,744	65	22,13.044	1,83,229	5 $7\frac{1}{2}$ „ 2·816
Tatna	5,400	874,570	161	20,01,322	3,70,615	4 $6\frac{3}{4}$ „ 2·288
Poona	5,250	698.587	133	921,815	1,75,583	2 $7\frac{1}{2}$ „ 1·319
Ahmednugger	10,078	1,002,733	99	15,31,956	1,52,009	3 $0\frac{3}{4}$ „ 1·527
Scholapore	8,565	685,587	80	9,92,323	1,15,857	2 $10\frac{1}{2}$ „ 1·447
Rutnagr	4,500	665,238	147	7,57,210	1,68,268	2 $3\frac{1}{4}$ „ 1·138
Belgaue	6,515	1,035,728	158	13,68,842	2,10,106	2 $7\frac{1}{2}$ „ 1·321
Dharwar	3,790	757,849	199	15,23,551	4,01,992	4 0 „ 2·010
Sattara	11,000	1,219,673	110	15,15,950	1,37,813	2 $5\frac{3}{4}$ „ 1·242
	75,806½	10,265,746	135	1,96,66,558	2,59,432	3 $9\frac{3}{4}$ „ 1·916

* No census of the collectorates forming the northern and southern divisions of the Bombay Presidency, and of the town of Bombay (including Colaba), has been taken since 1851. During the past year it was determined that one should be taken during 1856, but owing to unforeseen circumstances it has been found necessary to defer doing so for another year.

Statistal Office, East India House,
16th February, 1858.

(Signed) M. Hornidge.

Appendix, No. 5.

Comparative Statement of Population, Revenue, and Pressure of Taxation in British India, and the United Kingdom.

India.								United Kingdom.			
Governments.	Population.	Population to the Square Mile.	Revenue, including salt, opium, & stamps, inclusive, of charge of collection, 1850-51.	Pressure of Taxation per Head.	Pressure of the Salt Tax.	Wages of an Agricultural Labourer per ann. 6s. per month.	Per-centage of Taxation per Head to Wages.	Population of the United Kingdom, 1851.	Total Revenue of the United Kingdom, 1851.	Pressure of Taxation per Head.	Per-centage of Taxation per Head to Wages. At 10s. per week.
			£.	s. d.	d.						
Bengal*	41,927,750	181	9,775,679	4 7¾	6¼	—	—	—	—	—	—
N. W. Provinces	25,730,136	254	6,087,807	4 8¾	3¼	—	—	—	—	—	—
Punjaub†	4,100,983	52	1,276,252	6 2½	9½	—	—	—	—	—	—
Madras	22,301,697	166	4,742,690	4 3	5	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bombay	11,109,067	92	4,408,752	7 11	5	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	105,169,633	158	26,291,180*	4 11¾	5¼	£3 12 0‡	6·94	27,452,262	57,401,011	£21 9¾	8·04

* Including mint duties, post office collections, stamps, Calcutta excise, miscellaneous, civil, and revenue, judicial fees and fines, land, sayer, abkany, &c., customs, salt, opium, interest on arrears of revenue, macine, moturpha, and tobacco.

† Chiefly estimated population.

‡ The rate of wages issued to 2,000 men employed on the Calcutta and Bombay mail roads.

The figures thus show that the pressure of taxation is under five shillings per head in India, and 2*l.* 1*s.* 9¾*d.* in England, and this taxation in relation to wages is under 7 per cent. in India, and above 8 per cent. in England. But these results only throw a partial and inferential light upon the real condition of the people; for five shillings may be a crushing tax in India, and 2*l.* 1*s.* 9¾*d.* light in England; and it is necessary to know how far the labouring classes in the respective countries can command the necessaries and comforts of life. John Bull's idea of necessaries and comforts is a good deal based upon the quantity of beef and beer a labouring man can command; and it might shock his beau-ideal of comfort to put the water-drinking, cereal-consuming, and scantily clothed Indian into the same category of comfort with himself. Nevertheless, as the climate neither invites the consumption of stimulating food nor drink, nor permits of heavy clothing, I may venture to say that the Indian labourer with his cereal food, in many parts of the country costing even less than a penny per diem (as I showed in a paper on prices, published in the "Journal of the Statistical Society," on the 29th of June, 1847), and his fractional cost for house rent, with his 72*s.* per annum, has his physical wants as readily available, and is comparatively as contented and comfortable as the English labourer with his 26*l.* per annum. Poverty and wretchedness exist in all countries; but this much I can say, that in similar limited areas I never witnessed in India such an amount of squalid misery as it has been my misfortune to witness in my personal inquiries, in London and elsewhere, into the condition of the labouring classes.

The salt tax is a subject for invective, and a few words must be said on it. The table shows that its average pressure for India is 5¼*d.* per head per annum, or 164th part of an agricultural labourer's wages; but I have proved, in the paper upon prices before quoted, that two shillings worth of salt, of even the best kind, which the people do not consume, would last a labourer 13⅓ months, and cost about the fourth of a farthing per diem; and where it was cheap, as at Kheir, in the Deccan, it would last thirty-five months, and cost 0·025 of a penny per diem; the outcry about the cruelty of the salt tax therefore is simply ridiculous. The earth, which is said to be clawed up, to be eaten, is commonly carbonate of soda, used by washermen instead of soap.

W. H. Sykes.

London, April 14th, 1853.

Appendix, No. 6.

Prices of the Cerealia and other Edibles in India and England compared.

Extracts from a Paper published in the "Journal of the Statistical Society of London," for November, 1847, headed, "Prices of the Cerealia and other Edibles in India and England compared," by Colonel Sykes, F.R.S.

The reduction of the local measures of Table II. into Indian measures was effected by Mr. Chapman, and must have been a work of infinite labour, as he had to ascertain the exact value of each local seer. The annual averages in Indian seers, so reduced, were converted by me into avoirdupois weight, and consequent upon that last conversion the price per quarter English has been determined, and the following are the results:—

	Indian Seers per Rupee, average of 19 Years:	Indian Seers in Avoirdupois weight.	Prices per Quarter English.
		lbs. oz.	s. d.
Wheat.....	$31\frac{5}{19}$	64 5	14 10
Rice.....	$17\frac{17}{19}$	36 13	0 $0\frac{7}{10}$ per lb.
*Gram	$29\frac{13}{19}$	60 5	15 11
†Bajra	$40\frac{7}{19}$	82 10	11 7
‡Jowaree	$48\frac{6}{19}$	100 8	9 6

It is thus shown that an average of years gives 64 lbs. 5 oz. of wheat for 2*s.*, 36 lbs. 13 oz. of rice, and 100½ lbs. of that nutritious grain, jowaree (*Holcus sorghum*), for 2*s.*; a sufficiency to support a man for two months at least, if the dietary in the prisons of the North-Western Provinces and Bengal be taken as a standard. In these prisons the daily allowance to a convict is from 1 to 2 lbs. of wheaten flour, regulated by the nature and duration of the hard labour to which the convict may be condemned. But Table II. shows that in 1828 the average price of jowaree gave nearly 137 lbs. avoirdupois for 2*s.*, so that a man could support himself for much less than a halfpenny per diem, and get fat upon it. But if reference be made to Table No. I., it is seen that at Kulus in the years 1828 and 1843 there were 80 local seers of jowaree per rupee, or $99\frac{5}{80}$ Indian seers, equal to 204 lbs. avoirdupois, for 2*s.*, or more than 2 lbs. for a farthing, so that a man could live for less than a far-

* Cicer Arietinum. † Holcus Spicatum. ‡ Holcus Sorghum.

thing per diem for the cost of meal. In wheat it is seen that the average prices in 1828 and 1836 were 26⅙ and 36⅔ Indian seers per rupee, equivalent to 74 lbs. and 75¼ avoirdupois. The above bread-grains, at such cheap rates, are within a moderate distance of the sea-coast. But Tables III., III*., and III**., carry us farther inland, and the cheapness is very much greater. These tables are from Colonel Sleeman, the Commissioner of the Saugor and Nerbuddah territories, and give the prices at seven markets within his commissionership from 1831 to 1840 inclusive, and from 1843 to 1846, both inclusive; but the prices of wheat, gram, and rice, only are given. In these tables it is shown that at Baitool in 1843 as much as 167 lbs. avoirdupois of wheat were sold for 2*s.*, and at the seven markets enumerated, the price varied in the year only from 5*s.* 6*d.* per quarter English to 6*s.* 8*d.* In succeeding years the prices were slightly enhanced, but in 1846 famine prices ruled, owing to the failure of the monsoon; that is to say, at Baitool the price of wheat, which in 1843 was 5*s.* 6*d.* per quarter, became 21*s.* 8*d.* But the average prices of wheat at the seven markets for the years 1843, 1844, and 1845, was 7*s.* 6¾*d.* per quarter: gram, similarly, was 7*s.* 7½*d.* per quarter, and rice, 4*s.* 4½*d.* per cwt. For the ten years preceding, from 1831 to 1840, the average price of wheat was 10*s.* 6*d.* per quarter (Table III**).

Appendix, No. 7.

Tenures upon which Land can be held in India.

Throughout the greater part of India, land is already private property, and cannot therefore be disposed of at the pleasure of the Government. Europeans may, however, under Act IV., of 1837, "acquire and hold in perpetuity, or for any term of years, property in land, or in any emoluments issuing out of land," in any part of British India.

It is only in districts like Goruckpore and the Deyrah Dhoon, where large tracts of waste land exist to which no individuals have any claim, that the Government have it in their power to make over the property in the land to applicants desirous of cultivating it. The terms adopted for grants in these districts were, a lease for forty years, under which one fourth of the land was to be rent free for the whole term and the remainder for three years, after which

the twentieth part of the rent assigned was to be paid, rising annually in twentieths, until at the end of the twenty-third year, the maximum rent of twelve annas (1*s.* 6*d.*) per acre would become due, and the land, subject to that payment, would be the absolute property of the grantee. Conditions were inserted in the lease to provide for the land being brought into cultivation according to stipulated annual proportions, on failure in which the portion of the grant found to be uncultivated, reverted to Government.

In the districts of Kumaon and Gurwhal, there are immense tracts of land suitable for tea cultivation, which are at the disposal of Government. These lands will be granted to persons possessing sufficient means and capital in lots of from 200 to 2,000 acres, one fourth to be free from assessment in perpetuity, and the remainder for four years, after which a rent of one anna (1½*d.*) per acre will be charged, rising annually by the same sum, until in the twentieth year, when the maximum rate of one rupee (2*s.*) per acre will be reached, after which the proprietary right in the grant vests in the grantee, who, in whatever manner he may cultivate the land, will never be called on to pay more than the average rate on grain crop lands in the same locality

Provisions are to be inserted in the lease to secure the land being cultivated with tea plants, which are supplied gratuitously by Government to the extent of their means.

Appendix, No. 8.

Orders of Court referring Despatches from India to their respective Committees.

At a Court of Directors the 10th December, 1834.

The Chairman acquainting the Court that sundry Despatches had been received from India since their last meeting, the undermentioned were read, viz., Political Letter from Bengal, No. 7, dated 8th May, 1834, together with its several enclosures, also, a letter from Sir Charles Theophilus Metcalfe, addressed Secretary, under date the 11th June, 1834 ; and a discussion having taken place as to the Committee to which the same should be referred, it was Ordered, that the said Despatches do lie on the Table of the Court.

17th December, 1834.

The Chairman, adverting to the Proceedings which the Court adopted on Wednesday last, when certain Despatches received from

Bengal were read; and moving the Court, it was Resolved, that in future a List of Advices received from India be laid before the Court as hitherto; that the several Advices be referred, under the direction of the Chairs, to the respective Committees, whose duty it will be to consider of replies to be made thereto; that a List of such Advices and the Committees to which they stand referred be laid before the Court by the Secretary so soon as the said List shall have been prepared by the Examiner; and, that an Abstract of the several Advices be furnished by the proper Departments to the Clerk of each of the Committees for the purpose of its being laid upon the Table for the information of the Members; it was then on another motion, Ordered, that the Political Letter from Bengal, No. 7, dated 8th May, 1834, and the letter from Sir Charles T. Metcalfe, dated 11th June, 1834, which were read in Court, and ordered to lie on the table on the 10th instant, be now referred to the consideration of the Revenue Judicial and Legislative Committee.

Appendix No. 9.

Official Correspondence during the Year 1857.

Indian Correspondence.				Home Correspondence.
Department.	Letters from India.		Despatches to India.	
	No. of Letters.	No. of Collections		
Public	431	5,907	296	The Number of Drafts of Letters approved by the Court of Directors, or adopted in consequence of the Court's Resolutions during the year 1857, was 7,927.
Financial	314	912	163	
Railway	181	563	168	
Electric Telegraph	11	50	51	
Public Works	210	2,180	67	
Military	677	1,960	624	
Marine	170	481	176	
Political	177	1,497	97	
Ecclesiastical	59	179	42	
Revenue	162	1,453	43	
Judicial	124	1,768	100	
Legislative	—	—	4	
Statistical	—	—	2	
Total	2,516	16,950	1,833	

The discrepancy between 1,833 Despatches to India and 1,621 Drafts, which passed the Court in 1857, is explained by many Drafts of the previous year not having been signed as Despatches until after the commencement of the year.

Appendix No. 10.

Draft Despatches approved by the Court of Directors during the Year 1857.

No. of Drafts.	Approved on the Day on which they were laid before the Court.	Ordered to lie for Consideration.		Altered by the Board.	Approved by the Board without Alteration.
		No.	Average No. of Days during which a Draft was under Consideration		
1,621	1,157	464*	Between 7 and 8 Days.	140†	1,481

* Many of these despatches not only took into consideration very important questions, but embraced a variety of matter and were periodical reviews of the proceedings of particular departments of the Government in India, extending over from three to six months.

† Many of these alterations are simply verbal.

Appendix, No. 11.

East India (Cadetships.)

Return of the Number of Cadetships, and different Classes of Individuals on whose Sons all Cadetships for *India* have been conferred by the Directors of the East India Company and President of the Board of Control, in the several Years from 1840 to 1857, both inclusive.

	1840.	1841.	1842.	1843.	1844.	1845.	1846.	1847.	1848.	1849.	1850.	1851.	1852.	1853.	1854.	1855.	1856.	1857.	Grand Total.
Sons of Military, Medical, and Marine Officers, and Chaplains in the East India Company's Service	83	99	85	57	36	93	83	68	66	68	66	53	65	86	103	94	100	160	
Sons of Civil Servants in the Company's Service	30	19	21	18	10	19	20	21	23	18	26	18	18	21	25	25	35	33	
	113	118	106	75	46	112	103	89	89	86	92	71	83	107	128	119	135	193	
Sons of Military, Naval, and Medical Officers in Her Majesty's Service	77	72	80	50	31	63	46	36	32	27	27	35	23	22	13	19	16	48	5,477
									1,865										
Sons of Clergymen	41	47	42	27	20	33	34	31	21	23	28	21	26	29	34	19	35	69	
									717										
Sons of Professional Men and others	182	206	227	148	106	165	162	119	95	95	109	94	73	77	110	102	92	153	
									580										
									2 315										

Appendix, No. 12.

East India (Bishops and Cathedral Establishments, &c.)

Return of the Annual Expenditure for Ecclesiastical Objects in India, at the different Presidencies, from 1836-37 to the latest Period, under the several Heads of Bishops and Cathedral Establishments; Number of Regular Chaplains; Number of Uncovenanted Auxiliary Chaplains; Cost of Building Churches; Cost of Grants in Aid of Church Building; Allowances to Roman Catholic Chaplains; and Miscellaneous Expenditure.

Years.	Bishops.				Chaplains.								Allowances to Roman Catholic Priests.	Ecclesiastical Buildings.	Miscellaneous.	Remarks.
					Church of England.			Church of Scotland.		Church Establishments.	Uncovenanted.					
	No.	Salaries.	Visitation Allowances.	Cathedral Establishments.	No.	Salaries.	Travelling Allowances.	No.	Salaries.		No.	Salaries.		Donations for Construction of, Grands in Aid of, Purchase and Repairs of Buildings by Government.		
BENGAL:		£	£	£		£	£		£	£		£	£		£	
1836-37	1	4,598	104	3,062	39	38,537	564	2	2,310	3,420	2	425	485		186	
1837-38	1	4,598	492	3,064	51	39,031	228	2	2,310	3,397	2	425	480		383	
1838-39	1	4,598	..	2,274	51	39,031	326	2	2,310	3,517	2	480	426		287	
1839-40	1	4,598	823	2,238	51	39,031	186	2	2,310	3,523	2	420	427		135	
1840-41	1	4,598	2,879	1,691	53	40,231	305	2	2,310	4,771	2	420	448		459	
1841-42	1	4,598	316	1,127	53	40,231	99	2	2,310	4,935	2	420	502		738	
1842-43	1	4,598	914	2,451	53	40,231	208	2	2,310	4,861	2	420	420		410	
1843-44	1	4,598	1,073	2,638	53	40,231	367	2	2,310	5,080	2	420	520	£31,457 was expended for construction, repairs, and enlargement of Churches from 1832 to 1852.	788	
1844-45	1	4,598	2,931	1,702	53	40,231	647	2	2,310	5,148	2	420	480		950	
1845-46	1	4,598	1,433	1,200	53	40,231	597	2	2,310	5,218	2	420	630		912	
1846-47	1	4,598	1,454	2,258	53	40,231	1,188	2	2,310	4,478	2	300	431		182	
1847-48	1	4,598	300	1,121	53	40,231	988	2	2,310	6,204	2	420	575		371	
1848-49	1	4,598	442	1,236	59	43,831	1,073	2	2,310	5,695	2	420	822		608	
1849-50	1	4,598	778	1,206	59	43,831	1,208	2	2,310	5,612	2	420	1,042		393	
1850-51	1	4,598	977	1,307	63	46,950	980	2	2,310	5,759	2	420	2,184		437	
1851-52	1	4,598	269	1,083	63	46,950	1,187	2	2,310	6,077	2	420	2,035	£35,000 authorised for construction of churches in the Punjaub during this period; 16,192*l.* for construction, repairs, &c. of churches in Bengal.	4,680	
1852-53	1	4,598	438	1,120	63	46,950	1,495	2	2,310	6,750	2	420	2,031		1,012	17 churches and chapels have been erected, or in course of construction, in the Punjaub alone during this period.
1853-54	1	4,598	136	1,120	63	46,950	881	2	2,310	6,553	2	420	2,235		1,940	
1854-55	1	4,598	363	1,375	68	51,031	1,596	2	2,310	6,286	2	540	2,887		746	
1855-56	1	4,598	752	1,120	68	51,031	1,510	2	2,310	6,467	2	540	2,725		1,218	

MADRAS:																	
1836–37	1	2,560	..	940	23	19,153	425	2	1,963	1,938	..	..	808				
1837–38	1	2,560	..	940	29	20,976	450	2	1,963	1,992	..	..	778				
1838–39	1	2,560	..	966	29	20,976	438	2	1,963	1,964	..	..	625				
1839–40	1	2,560	..	966	29	20,976	389	2	1,963	2,011	..	..	785				
1840–41	1	2,960	..	966	29	20,976	413	2	1,963	2,008	..	..	769				
1841–42	1	2,560	1,575	966	29	20,976	435	2	1,963	2,528	..	..	773				
1842–43	1	2,560	794	966	29	20,976	313	2	1,963	2,706	..	..	1,273	£25,291 was expended for construction, repairs, additions, improvements, &c. between 1832 and 1852.			
1843–44	1	2,560	932	901	29	20,976	209	2	1,963	2,893	..	..	984				
1844–45	1	2,560	1,656	860	29	20,976	137	2	1,963	2,998	..	..	1,192				
1845–46	1	2,560	1,452	880	29	20,976	137	2	1,963	2,800	..	..	913				
1846–47	1	2,560	1,306	880	29	20,976	68	2	1,963	2,980	..	..	983				
1847–48	1	2,560	1,508	880	29	20,976	68	2	1,963	2,761	..	..	955				
1848–49	1	2,560	1,500	880	29	20,976	68	2	1,963	2,740	..	..	1,052				
1849–50	1	2,560	1,373	878	29	20,976	..	2	1,963	2,718	..	..	1,050				
1850–51	1	2,560	1,614	878	29	20,976	..	2	1,963	2,628	..	..	1,032				
1851–52	1	2,560	1,601	878	29	20,976	..	2	1,963	2,618	..	..	1,064				
1852–53	1	2,560	..	878	29	20,976	..	2	1,963	2,090	..	..	1,362	..	2,053		
1853–54	1	2,560	..	936	29	20,976	..	2	1,963	2,152	..	..	1,326	..	—		
1854–55	1	2,560	..	960	29	20,976	..	2	1,963	2,222	..	..	1,386	..	2,377		
1855–56	1	2,560	..	1,010	35	25,056	..	2	1,963	2,636	..	..	2,580	..	1,154		
															30,875		
BOMBAY:																	
1836–37	1	2,560	..	733	15	13,005	793	2	2,038	1,741	..	..	552				
1837–38	1	2,560	..	1,053	17	12,636	1,140	2	2,038	1,921	..	..	588				
1838–39	1	2,560	..	1,053	17	12,636	1,367	2	2,038	1,575	..	..	468			12	
1839–40	1	2,560	..	1,119	17	12,636	656	2	2,038	1,687	..	..	588			33	
1840–41	1	2,560	..	1,179	23	15,276	653	2	2,038	1,698	..	..	528			21	
1841–42	1	2,560	..	1,059	23	15,276	399	2	1,896	1,793	..	..	708			12	
1842–43	1	2,560	..	1,231	23	15,276	393	2	1,896	1,616	..	..	441			44	
1843–44	1	2,560	103	1,267	23	15,276	590	2	1,896	2,044	..	..	681			109	
1844–45	1	2,560	975	1,287	23	15,276	336	2	1,896	1,938	..	..	1,050	£19,555 was expended for construction, repairs, improvements, &c., between 1832 and 1852.		34	
1845–46	1	2,560	295	1,267	23	15,276	397	2	1,896	2,126	..	..	2,243			168	
1846–47	1	2,560	108	1,267	23	15,276	333	2	1,896	2,022	..	..	1,756			66	
1847–48	1	2,560	734	1,267	23	15,276	448	2	1,896	2,167	..	..	1,959			81	
1848–49	1	2,560	503	1,267	23	16,416	406	2	1,899	1,744	..	..	1,989			70	
1849–50	1	2,560	113	1,267	23	16,416	364	2	1,896	2,090	..	..	2,521			18	
1850–51	1	2,560	120	1,267	23	16,416	360	2	2,016	1,783	..	..	2,280			124	
1851–52	1	2,560	..	1,279	23	16,896	370	2	2,016	2,210	..	..	3,574			118	
1852–53	1	2,560	..	1,327	23	16,896	326	2	2,016	2,210	..	..	3,065	..	582	97	
1853–54	1	2,560	..	1,328	23	16,896	389	2	2,016	2,313	..	..	2,680	..	3,427	42	
1854–55	1	2,560	..	1,316	23	16,896	371	2	2,016	2,411	..	..	2,903	..	4,600	108	
1855–56	1	2,560	..	1,335	26	18,936	371	2	2,016	2,021	..	..	3,147	..	—	83	
															28,164		

* These accounts include, in some instances, a portion, and in others the whole of the travelling allowances to chaplains, from which they cannot be separated.

† The exact expenditure in these years cannot be given; but as regards the Bishop, the amount is limited at 1,200*l.* within each period of three years.

‡ The exact expenditure in these years cannot be given; but as regards the Bishop, the amount is limited at 1,200*l.* within each period of three years.

LONDON:
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LITTLE GREEN ARBOUR COURT.

SPEECH

OF

CAPTAIN EASTWICK,

AT A

SPECIAL COURT OF PROPRIETORS,

HELD AT

THE EAST INDIA HOUSE,

ON THE 20TH OF JANUARY, 1858.

Pht. 3

WITH NOTES.

LONDON:
SMITH, ELDER AND CO., 65, CORNHILL.

1858.

28019

SPEECH,

&c., &c.

THE honourable Proprietor who opened the debate with such an able and vigorous address truly said that the admirable petition which was read at the commencement of our proceedings this morning had forestalled our arguments, and clothed them in language of force and precision which few could hope to equal; nevertheless, I trust I may be permitted to offer a few observations on the important subject now under consideration.

I am very glad that this opportunity has been afforded us of expressing our sentiments, and I rejoice to think, from the large attendance of the Proprietors, that the gravity and magnitude of the question are fully appreciated. There is no doubt in my mind that if the Proprietors have anything to say, now is the time to make themselves heard throughout the country. I know it is the opinion of some that we ought to have waited until the details of the measure which the Ministry intend to propose to Parliament are before us; but surely we know enough to justify us in taking our

stand. We know that the basis of the proposed measure is the abolition of what is termed the double government, which is, in fact, the extinction of the balance of power, of every check upon the absolute will of the Minister, which forms the chief merit in the present system for the government of India; that system, under which an insignificant mercantile factory has been converted into a magnificent empire; that system, which has for a period of more than seventy years from time to time undergone the severest scrutiny and investigation, but still has been perpetuated by successive Parliaments. No one can deny that it is anomalous—that it has disadvantages which are likely to be exaggerated by superficial observers, and which can be increased by defective working; but with all its anomalies, with all its disadvantages, it has commended itself to the wisdom and approval of some of our greatest statesmen, and there must be counterbalancing advantages, or it never would have passed untouched through so many searching ordeals. Four years have not elapsed since it was again renewed, and again ratified by Parliament, after due inquiry and investigation. It certainly, therefore, does seem a strong measure to propose to abolish it without any inquiry, without any investigation.

Let me not be misunderstood. I do not for a moment assert that no improvement can be made in the system. We live in an age of progress. We must advance, we cannot stand still. All our institutions must be adapted to our increasing intelligence and enlarged experience. Many of those who have

thought most deeply on the subject feel strongly that our Government in India is still an experimental one. The late terrible events have demolished many theories, and overthrown many preconceived ideas, but if they have taught any lesson, it is more especially a lesson of caution and prudence in jumping hastily to conclusions about a country and people concerning whose habits, customs, and feelings, we have clearly much to learn.

There is no doubt that great and radical changes must take place in our system of administration in India, if we wish to preserve our empire. If it can be proved, after proper investigation, that the system of government at home has been the cause of the defects that have been made patent by the late troubles in India, or if it can be shown that there is not sufficient vigour, sufficient vitality, in the present system to carry out the changes which are absolutely required in India, then there ought to be no hesitation in remodelling the system. All petty, personal, party interests fade into insignificance in comparison with so solemn, so momentous a question. But I suppose few will venture to assert that even if the management of affairs in India had been transferred to the Crown in 1854, the insurrection would have been averted, nor will it, I imagine, be maintained that if India were transferred to the Crown to-morrow, there would be any difference in the policy that would be pursued, either in putting down the rebellion, or in introducing reforms and improvements hereafter. The fact is, the policy of the East India

Company is the policy of the Government; the Ministers of the country are responsible for it, and the country itself through their representatives in Parliament.

But the point which presses strongly upon my mind, and to which I would wish to draw the special attention of this Court, is the time that is selected for making an organic change in the constitution of the Government of India. Is this the proper time, I would ask, to introduce such an important change? In the midst of a tremendous convulsion, when in many provinces the land-marks of order are only just now reappearing above the waves of the deluge, when men's hearts are failing them for fear, and terror and alarm pervade the length and breadth of the land, is this a time to sweep away the name and form of a Government, under which the empire has grown up, and which has always been associated in the minds of the natives of India with good fortune, prosperity, and victory? "Company ka-ikbal" has long been a household word throughout Hindostan. We know with what tenacity the natives of India cling to old associations, but we do not know, in the present unhinged and excited state of men's minds, what effect a change may have upon them, which designing persons might represent only as a prelude to further change fraught with evil to the native community.

Among the causes of the late insurrection, the belief by the sepoys that the Government entertained designs hostile to their caste, was, without doubt, a prominent one. This belief was totally without found-

ation, and had probably been inculcated by designing persons who knew better, but the belief was genuine. I know that this has been disputed—that the greased cartridges were considered to have been a mere pretence. A leading member of the House of Commons stated, amid the cheers of that House, that "revolutions are not made with grease;" but those who know India, and the natives of India, and how caste is mixed up with their temporal, and believed to be mixed up with their eternal welfare, will not respond so readily to this profound philosophy. We must not measure Orientals by an European standard, or we shall assuredly fall into grievous error.* We

* The recent extraordinary infatuation of the Caffres, in killing all their cattle at the instance of one of their magicians, has in it points of resemblance to the madness which infected the sepoys. The sepoys, however, added treachery to their benefactors, and plunged into crimes from the contemplation of which the mind shrinks, and for which no earthly punishment can be considered adequate. Retribution stern, solemn, and unrelenting, must be exacted; justice must be satisfied; but vengeance — indiscriminate vengeance, founded upon a blind antagonism of race — is unworthy of our greatness as a nation, and wholly incompatible with our duties and responsibilities as Christians. An infinite and allwise Creator works out His designs in a mysterious way, wholly beyond the comprehension of our finite understandings. His thoughts are not our thoughts, nor are His ways our ways. As when the earth is bound by the icy chains of winter, all nature seems cold, blank, and lifeless, man could not know, except by experience, that in a brief space, under the genial influence of spring, the earth would again be covered with beauty. Even so this tremendous convulsion, which has brought horror and desolation to so many English hearts, may contain within itself the germs of future good for India, to be developed, if rightly used, in more rapid progress, and a wider extension of civilization and Christianity.

are told that "when the Romans invaded Egypt, the inhabitants, without the least resistance, placed their lives and property at the mercy of the foreigner, but when a Roman soldier happened to kill a cat in the streets of Alexandria, the people rose upon him with ungovernable fury, and tore him limb from limb, and the Roman general was obliged to overlook the outrage from fear of the spread of the insurrection." We all know of what essential service the Sikhs have been to us during the late troubles. Their glorious deeds at Arrah, at Delhi, and wherever danger was thickest, can never be forgotten. It is scarcely too much to say that the Sikhs and Sir John Lawrence have saved our empire. We know that they have fewer prejudices than the natives of Hindostan, and that in their habits they are much more akin to Europeans. And yet one of the best officers in the Bengal army told me that his Sikh regiment was on the verge of mutiny at the introduction of a new regimental cap, because it was feared there might be some leather in it. Suppose a Commander-in-Chief fresh from Europe had issued an order that all the Sikh soldiers should wear leather caps. It seems a trifling thing, and to the European mind almost incredible, but it might have driven them to frenzy, and with such inflammable materials as are always at hand in India, who can tell what fatal consequences might not have ensued. Yet the same profound philosophy would most probably have looked beyond such "small griefs," and exclaimed, "Revolutions are not made with leather caps." Whatever our coun-

trymen at home may think, the day has not yet arrived when a handful of Europeans can govern 200 millions of people in the teeth of their strongest feelings, and in defiance of their most deeply-rooted prejudices.

We have heard much of late in condemnation of the traditionary policy of the East India Company. What is this traditionary policy, but a necessary adaptation of means to ends, to time and circumstances, founded on experience and knowledge of the people with whom we have to deal—a wise toleration and respect for the feelings and prejudices of the natives, which has ensured a calm and equable progress, and laid the foundation of greater strides in advance, that might have been jeopardized by rash and hasty measures? This policy is not a stationary, nor a retrograde policy, but a policy of progress. It may, perhaps, have moved too slowly, but the principles are sound, and the only principles on which we can rule India. People talk as glibly of re-conquering India, which, fortunately for us, has not revolted, as Mr. Cobden used to talk of crumpling up Russia; but Mr. Cobden has lived to find out his mistake, and Heaven forbid that this country should commit the fatal error of placing itself in direct antagonism to the people of India, under the supposition that we can carry everything by brute force and compulsion.

Without undervaluing in the smallest degree the undaunted courage, the marvellous endurance, the chivalrous self-devotion of British officers and soldiers, which have never shone more brightly than during the late troubles, and of which England may justly

feel proud, we must never forget that it is chiefly through the assistance of the natives we have gained India, by them we have maintained it, and for them we ought to hold it. Notwithstanding all that has taken place, our mission is still the same—to elevate them in the scale of nations, to bring them more and more within the pale of civilization, and pave the way for the spread of that blessed Gospel, which we are told by infallible wisdom, will, in God's own good time, "cover the earth as the waters cover the sea."

We are continually taunted with having done so little for India; with having held the country for so many years, and impressed upon it so little of European civilization and improvement. Those who bring this charge against the government of India, forget the progressive steps by which we have attained our present commanding position; that, in the first instance, we were there by sufferance; that we then had to struggle for existence, and that we had all our knowledge to acquire to enable us to legislate with effect for a people so different to ourselves. Fifty years in the life of an European nation are marked by great strides in advance, but fifty years in the life of an Asiatic nation are not so pregnant with great changes. Still, even tried by this test, the condition of India previous to this unhappy insurrection shone out in bright contrast with what it was a few years ago. It would occupy too much time to attempt a recapitulation of all the improvements and ameliorations that have been the consequences of British rule. A memorandum has lately been prepared in the India

House showing the improvements in the administration of India during the last thirty years, and its perusal will, I feel assured, afford to every candid and unprejudiced mind ample evidence of real and substantial progress. If all has not been achieved that could have been wished, much has been done, and there has been the earnest, honest desire to do more. There have been, no doubt, great and grievous failures. But under what Government have there not been failures? Often those failures have led to ultimate success; many of those most condemned have been based upon the deliberate and recorded opinions of the most intelligent and distinguished servants of the Company, and have only served to show the difficulties with which we have had to contend.

For these difficulties no allowances are made by the opponents of the East India Company. Every sort of exaggeration and misrepresentation is put forth to excite the public mind; until lately, scarcely a voice was raised in defence of the Company's administration, but the public are beginning to feel that this dark picture has a reverse side. No institution or Government which is always attacked and never defended can long be maintained. I must confess I have always considered it bad policy to hide our light under a bushel; and I have always thought that this Court might have been made the medium of exposing unfounded accusations, and of giving to the public sound and accurate information regarding the details of our administration in India. There is no greater security for good Government than public discussion; the

public in general do not err wilfully, but through ignorance and want of information; and it is the bounden duty of those in office to furnish that information to the utmost extent, and in the freest manner compatible with the interests of the public service.

Amongst the topics which have tended to create the strongest prejudice against the East India Company in the public mind, there are two special ones, to which, if the Court will permit me, I will briefly allude. These topics are the torture question and the religious question, the latter comprehending the question of education. Now I think late events in India have thrown a flood of light upon the question of torture. In the first place, it will now be clearly understood in England of what the natives of India are capable when left to themselves. It will be seen how broad is the line of demarcation between the native and European mind, and to what depths of fiendish cruelty the Asiatic can descend. Not that I would include all the natives of India in this category. I believe there are hundreds and thousands, nay millions, who look upon the barbarities which have been committed with equal horror with ourselves. I am proud to number amongst my friends many of the natives of India—friends of my youth, for whom I still entertain a high regard and esteem.

It will, I say, be understood of what cruelties the natives are capable, and it will be also understood in what impenetrable secresy they can envelope their schemes and proceedings. This is a feature in

the character of the Asiatic which the people of England cannot comprehend. It is with such instruments as these we have to work in carrying on the administration of India. I believe that there is no amount of tyranny and cruelty which is not at times inflicted on the ryots by the native servants of the Government; but they know very well that such acts are abhorrent to their European superiors, and are breaches of the law, and that they would be severely punished if detected. Cases, however, do still undoubtedly occur; and when it is recollected how limited the number of European servants is in India, compared with the vast extent of territory and the swarming myriads of population they have to supervise, it is not to be wondered if such cases at times escape observation.

All those who know India are aware that the practice of torture has existed in India from time immemorial; it still exists in full vigour under native Governments (witness the late Sir William Sleeman's "Diary of a Tour through Oude"), and under our own, in spite of endeavours to put it down, and will exist until the light of civilization and Christianity dispels the thick darkness that broods over the land, and renders such practices as abhorrent to the native as they are to the European mind.

I have admitted torture exists, but it exists in spite of the East India Company. It is known to be a breach of the law, as much as murder and highway robbery. It is punished whenever detected, and the East India Company and their European servants

might with equal justice be accused of being accessories to infanticide, suttee, or any of the other atrocities, which have already disappeared, or are gradually disappearing, under British rule.

No unprejudiced man can read the report of the Madras Torture Commissioners, dated April 16, 1855, without acquitting the East India Company and their servants. The Commissioners state that of late years "these practices have been steadily decreasing in severity and extent;" that "the service is entitled to the fullest credit for its disclaimer of all countenance of the cruel practices which prevail in the revenue, as well as in the police department;" that "we have seen nothing to impress us with the belief that the people at large entertain an idea that their maltreatment is countenanced or tolerated by the European officers of government;" that "there is not a native public servant, from the highest to the lowest, who does not well know that these practices are held in abhorrence by his European superiors;" and that "the whole cry of the people which has come up before us is to save them from the cruelties of their fellow-natives, not from the effects of unkindness or indifference on the part of the European officers of Government."

I think this evidence is sufficient to show how unfounded are the accusations against the East India Company and their European servants of sanctioning or conniving at practices which every Englishman must abhor, and which, if true, would disgrace us as men and as Christians in the eyes of the whole

civilized world. Let the people of England recollect, before they accept as true without evidence, and without inquiry, these odious charges made against their countrymen in India, often by the disappointed and the factious, for political and party purposes, that the honour of their country and religion are alike at stake upon the truth or falsehood of such charges.

I now come to a more important question—the question how far the Government of India has fulfilled its duty as a Christian Government; and before I say one word I must state distinctly that I sympathize with my whole heart with the missionary movement. It is my solemn belief that God has given us that great country to promote the spread of His Gospel, and that as we fulfil, or fall short of this end, so will our reward or punishment as a nation be; but I believe also that this end is not to be worked out by the influence of Government, still less by any arbitrary interference or compulsion, but by the power of reason and persuasion, by the progress of enlightenment, by the triumph of light over darkness, and by the grace of God descending upon the hearts of the benighted millions of Hindostan.

Holding these opinions, it would be impossible that I could have retained my seat in the direction if one-fiftieth part of what is alleged against the Indian Government on this momentous subject were true. I believe that the greatest misapprehension exists throughout the country on this question.*

* "As an instance of accusations totally erroneous, I may mention the statement that the Koran is used in all Government schools in

When I read that one member of Parliament designates the Indian Government as "half-infidel, half-atheist," when I myself heard another member of Parliament, in speaking of days long gone by, quote to a crowded meeting an apocryphal remark of one of the Directors of the East India Company, "that he would sooner see a band of devils enter India than a band of missionaries," as evidencing the opinions prevailing amongst the honourable body to which I belong, I do not wonder that misapprehension prevails. Now, I am not going to enter into controverted questions on which earnest, sincere men may conscientiously differ; my only object is very briefly to lay before the Court a few facts showing the course pursued by the Indian authorities at home and abroad, and the principles laid down to be carried into practice, as circumstances would permit.

I am dealing with present facts, not with old stories that have been dead and buried years ago. I should like to know what would be thought of a member of Parliament if he were to bring a bill of indictment against the present Government, and include in it all the shortcomings of former governments for the last forty or fifty years; if he were to inflict upon the House long tirades against slavery, protection, and other errors of legislation which formerly found their advocates, but now are as exploded, in the minds of statesmen, as astrology or witchcraft. We have to

India. To any one acquainted with the composition of an Indian population, such a statement carries its own refutation along with it."—*Speech of the Rev. J. Murray Mitchell.*

deal with 1858, and not with 1808 or 1818. Will any one assert that there is any Government opposition to missionary efforts at the present moment? I think not.* The Chairman, the Deputy-Chairman, my friend on my left (Mr. Willoughby) and other members of the Court have been earnest and constant supporters of missionary labours while in India. Is it likely that they would abandon the principles on which they have always acted on their return to their native country? Since 1833, when the Court of Directors, in their despatch of the 20th of February, laid down in great detail the principles which were in future to guide the Government of India in the ques-

* "At the commencement of the year 1852, there were labouring throughout India and Ceylon the agents of twenty-two missionary societies. These include 443 missionaries, of whom 48 are ordained natives, together with 698 native catechists. These agents reside at 313 missionary stations. There have been founded 333 native churches, containing 18,410 communicants, in a community of 112,191 native Christians. The missionaries maintain 1,347 vernacular day-schools, containing 47,504 boys, together with 93 boarding-schools, containing 2,414 Christian boys. They also superintend 126 superior English day-schools, and instruct therein 14,562 boys and young men. Female education embraces 347 day-schools for girls, containing 11,519 scholars, but hopes more from its 102 girls' boarding-schools, containing 2,779 Christian girls. The entire Bible has been translated into 10 languages, the New Testament into 5 others, and separate gospels into 4 others. Besides numerous works of Christians, 30, 40, and even 70 tracts have been prepared in these different languages, suitable for Hindoos and Mussulmans. Missionaries maintain in India 25 printing establishments. This vast missionary agency costs 190,000*l.* annually, of which *one-sixth*, 33,500*l.*, *is contributed by European Christians resident in the country.*" —*Extract from Statistics of Missions in India and Ceylon, by the Rev. Joseph Mullens, of Calcutta.*

tion of idolatrous rites and ceremonies, has not each year seen an advance in the right direction, more especially of late years?* No doubt still more remains to be done—the severance is not yet complete; but is it fair and just to ignore all that has been done? Has the Crown colony of Ceylon outstripped the Indian Government in these matters? Have not the same difficulties been met with there as in India?

* "Every one knows that thuggee, suttee, and infanticide have been suppressed. Slavery too has vanished from our territories, though it still exists in a fearful form in Travancore, a native state. The payment of pilgrim taxes into the Government treasury, the administration of oaths in the name of false gods, the official attendance of Government functionaries at heathen festivals, the direct management by Government of temple funds, these, and similar evils, have ceased. Nor is there any more of Government opposition to missionary efforts. Our missions receive perfect toleration, and we have asked no other boon."—*Speech of the Rev. J. Murray Mitchell, Free Church of Scotland Missionary, Edinburgh, 9th November*, 1857.

See also the just and elaborate eulogium of the venerable and pious Bishop of Calcutta when preaching on the day of humiliation 24th July, 1857. "Things were better with them than they were formerly. All had been moving on in the right direction for more than fifty years past. Never was there a more just or beneficent Government than that of the British power in India. Peace and security for property have prevailed, commerce and all the Western improvements in medicine and the arts have been encouraged, every man stood equal before the laws, the administration of justice was pure, the taxes were of moderate weight. *Then as to Christianity, ministers of every name and class, missionaries from all the different societies, were protected and honoured, churches had been raised and native converts had been made in large numbers. Charitable designs to meet new forms of destitution were liberally supported. Christian education in all their missions, and national education not excluding Christianity, though not directly teaching it, was spreading throughout the country.*"

It is not very long ago that "devil dancing for her Majesty's service" was paid out of Government funds in Ceylon; but this and other evils have now been removed.*

The despatch of Feb. 20, 1833, ought to be republished for the information of the public. I should

* The connection of the Government of Ceylon with the Buddhist religion, dates from the 2nd of March, 1815, when the Kandyan Provinces became British territory. By a convention of that date Buddhism was declared "inviolable," and "its rites, ministers, and places of worship were to be maintained and protected." In 1818 another proclamation laid down certain rules with regard to priests, ceremonies, and processions, which practically mixed up the Ceylon Government with the Buddhists in all their worship and ceremonies, including the preservation of the Sacred Tooth. In 1832, or thereabouts, the aid given by Government was converted into a money payment by Sir R. Wilmot Horton, including a sum for "devil dancing," which was performed, according to the official document, "for her Majesty's service." It was not until 1844 that Lord Stanley, then Colonial Secretary, sent out a despatch directing that the connection with the Buddhist religion should cease, that the annual money payment should be discontinued, if it could be done without a breach of faith, and that the allowance for "devil dancing" should be struck out of the estimates. In 1848 the insurrection broke out, which Lord Torrington ascribed chiefly to the measures of Government with regard to Buddhism. The custody of the Sacred Tooth, which was considered by the natives inseparably linked with the possession of political power, and the old system of appointments were resumed. Subsequently, various alterations took place. The Sacred Tooth was again given up under the government of Sir George Anderson in 1852, but up to this moment the connection of the Government of Ceylon with Buddhism is not entirely severed. These facts are stated to show the difficulty of dealing with questions relating to the religious prejudices of the people, and that the Administration of the Crown is equally open to accusations of this nature with the administration of the East India Company.

like to read some extracts, but it would occupy too much time. No one, I think, after its perusal will maintain that the principles laid down are at variance with the precepts or spirit of Christianity.* It has

* Par. 8.—Respecting the degree of toleration due to the religion and worship of our Indian subjects, the sentiments of the Governor-General are essentially our own, although we might be disposed to qualify, in some degree, the terms in which he has expressed them.

Par. 9.—All religious rites and offices which are in this sense harmless, that they are not flagrantly opposed to rules of common humanity or decency, ought to be tolerated, however false the creed by which they are sanctioned. But they could not properly be said to be tolerated, if those who are engaged in them did not experience that ordinary degree of protection to which every citizen not offending against the laws is entitled at the hands of his rulers. A religious festival, attended by immense crowds, cannot be said to be tolerated, if the Government does not provide a police sufficient to enforce order, and to ensure the safety of individuals during the celebration. And, on the other hand, the providing of such a police is not an act of favour or friendship to the mode of worship, but one of simple justice to the worshippers.

Par. 10.—Beyond this civil protection, however, we do not see that the maxims of toleration enjoin us to proceed. It is not necessary that we should take part in the celebration of an idolatrous ceremony, or that we should assist in the preparations for it, or that we should afford to it such systematic support as shall accredit it in the eyes of the people, and prevent it from expiring through the effect of neglect or accident.

Par. 11.—The application of these principles to the subject before us is not very difficult. Although it is possible that the Hindoo rites, or, at least, those of Juggernath, are less liable than formerly to the charges of cruelty and open indecency, their essential character is of course not changed. They are at variance with the precepts and spirit of Christianity, and they seem opposed even to the plain injunctions of a natural religion. This, however, is not a reason for prohibiting them by law; and if they are not to be so prohibited, if they are to exist at all, they must receive from the civil power that measure of protection which it affords to any act,

been followed up by other despatches; and in 1840 the doing or not doing of which it treats as a matter of indifference. To this extent we entirely concur with Lord William Bentinck. On the other hand, we cannot conceive that a Government which believes those rites to be deeply founded in error, and to be productive, even in a civil view, of serious evil, is obliged, or is at liberty, to show to them any degree of positive sanction or encouragement.

Par. 62.—Finally, it may be convenient to recapitulate, in a brief series, the principal conclusions resulting from the preceding discussion. They are the following:—

First. That the interference of British functionaries in the interior management of native temples, in the customs, habits, and religious proceedings of their priests and attendants, in the arrangement of their ceremonies, rites, and festivals, and generally in the conduct of their interior economy, shall cease.

Secondly. That the pilgrim-tax shall everywhere be abolished.

Thirdly. That fines and offerings shall no longer be considered as sources of revenue by the British Government; and they shall, consequently, no longer be collected or received by the servants of the East India Company.

Fourthly. That no servant of the East India Company shall hereafter be engaged in the collection, or management, or custody, of monies in the nature of fines or offerings, under whatsoever name they may be known, or in whatever manner obtained, or whether furnished in cash or in kind.

Fifthly. That no servant of the East India Company shall hereafter derive any emolument resulting from the above-mentioned or any similar sources.

Sixthly. That in all matters relating to their temples, their worship, their festivals, their religious practices, their ceremonial observances, our native subjects be left entirely to themselves.

Seventhly. That in every case in which it has been found necessary to form, and keep up a police force, specially with a view to the peace, and security of the pilgrims, or the worshippers, such police shall hereafter be maintained, and made available out of the general revenues of the country.

Par. 63.—Much caution, and many gradations may be necessary in acting on the conclusions at which we have arrived. Among

an Act was passed in India to the same effect. In 1843 an order was issued in Bombay directing the

other concomitant measures, such explanations should be given to the natives, as shall satisfy them that so far from abandoning the principles of a just toleration, the British Government is resolved to apply them with more scrupulous accuracy than ever, and that this proceeding is, in truth, no more than a recurrence to that state of real neutrality, from which we ought never to have departed.—*Extracts from Despatch of Court of Directors, No* 3 *of* 1833.

"*Miscellaneous Revenue Department, 20th February*, 1833.

"We more particularly desire, that the management of all temples, and other places of religious resort, together with the revenues derived therefrom, be resigned into the hands of the natives, and that the interference of the public authorities in the religious ceremonies of the people be regulated by the instructions conveyed in the 62nd paragraph of our despatch of 20th February, 1833."—*Extract No.* 9 *of* 1838, *Revenue Department, dated 8th August*, 1838.

"'G. O. 26TH JULY, 1836.

"'*Head-Quarters, Choultry Plain.*

"'The Commander-in-Chief directs it to be strictly observed as a standing regulation of the service, that wherever the attendance of troops, either European or Native, may be necessary at any native festival, or similar occasion, the troops so employed are invariably to be kept in a collected body, as a military guard for the maintenance of order, and are not on any account to be permitted to join or take part in the procession or ceremony, nor to act as escorts either to persons or property.'

"That order (G. O. 26th July, 1836) very properly prohibited troops employed in preserving order at religious festivals, from taking any part in the procession or ceremonies. We think that the attendance of musicians, for the purpose of taking part in the ceremonies of any religion whatever, should be wholly voluntary, but we do not intend that any alteration should be made, in the practice which has hitherto regulated the appointment of escorts to natives of rank on their way to places of religious worship, as in that case it must be self-evident, that the honour is due to the individual, and not to the occasion."—*Extract from Despatch of Court of Directors, 8th August*, 1838.

cessation of public works on the Sabbath day. This order was extended to Bengal in 1847 by Lord Hardinge, who at the same time stated, "I am convinced that much of the success of British rule in India is to be attributed under Providence to our forbearance in not interfering with the religious prejudices of the people, and that the difficulties experienced in Algeria might be traced to a very opposite system of government."*

Then, let me ask, is the Act passed in 1850, by which Christian converts are taken under the protection of the law, no evidence of progress in

* Mr. Elphinstone and many of our most eminent Indian statesmen have recorded solemn warnings to the same effect.

"I have left out of the account the dangers to which we should be exposed by any attempt to interfere with the religious prejudices of the natives. These are so obvious, that we may hope they will never be braved. The numbers, and physical force of the natives, are evidently incalculably greater than ours. Our strength consists in the want of energy and division of our enemies. There is but one talisman that, while it animated and united them all, would leave us without a single adherent; this talisman is the name of religion, a power so odious that it is astonishing our enemies have not more frequently and systematically employed it against us. I do not point out the danger now from any apprehension that Government will ever attempt to convert the natives, but to impress it with the consequences that would result from any suspicion that it was disposed to encourage such a project. While we enjoy the confidence of the natives our boldest innovations are safe; but that once lost, our most cautious measures would involve us in danger. It would not then be necessary that we should go so far even as we do now, the most indifferent action would suffice to excite that fanatical spirit, the springs of which are as obscure as its effects are tremendous."—*Extract from the Report of Mr. Elphinstone, 1st October*, 1819.

asserting the prerogatives of a Christian Government?*

What did Lord Dalhousie state with reference to the conversion of Maharajah Dhuleep Sing, in 1851? "If this resolution to abandon his present faith, and to profess Christianity, which his Highness declares to be an act long contemplated by him, should be only a sentiment or a freak, the lapse of a little time will serve to show that the desire his Highness has declared so steadily has been unreal. But if that desire should continue unabated, and the Maharajah should still seek for instruction in the truths of our faith at the hands of the Government, which is the sole guardian of his youth, and charged with the responsibility of acting in all respects as it believes to be best for his future good, I respectfully submit that this Government has before it only one path of duty. Whether his Highness's resolution to become a Christian has been the natural result of the peculiar circumstances into which the Maharajah's fate has thrown him, or whether the grace of God has planted it at once in the heart of the boy, I cannot in my conscience thwart it." Is it reasonable to suppose that the distinguished statesman who could record his opinion in

* By this Act the principle already laid down in a Bengal regulation of 1832, that change of religion should not involve loss of property or civil rights, was extended to the whole of the territories subject to the British Government of India. The religious and civil laws of the Hindoos, have in this point been completely set aside, and converts to Christianity, have been shielded, as far as laws can shield them, against temporal ill consequences from their change of faith.—*Mem. E. I. House.*

these terms, thus publicly affirming a cardinal doctrine of the Christian faith, would have consented to preside for so many years over a "half-infidel, half-atheist Government?"

There is only one other despatch to which I will allude, but it is a most important one, as showing the present principles of the Government of India—I mean the despatch of the 18th July, 1854, on the subject of education. I could quote many passages, but not to occupy time I will simply state that it recognises "the noble exertions of Christians of all denominations to guide the natives of India in the way of religious truth," and directs the introduction of the grant-in-aid system throughout India, by which the Government affords liberal aid to all missionary schools which are willing to accept it, thereby directly promoting religious instruction and Bible reading.* This has been carried out, and a more important step

* Par. 84. "Considerable misapprehension appears to exist as to our views with respect to religious instruction in the Government institutions. Those institutions were founded for the benefit of the whole population of India; and in order to effect their object it was and is, indispensable that the education conveyed in them should be exclusively secular. The Bible is, we understand, placed in the libraries of the colleges and schools, and the pupils are able freely to consult it. This is as it should be; and moreover we have no desire to prevent, or to discourage, any explanations which the pupils may of their own free-will ask from their masters upon the subject of the Christian religion, provided that such information be given out of school hours. Such instruction being entirely voluntary on both sides, it is necessary in order to prevent the slightest suspicion of an intention on our part to make use of the influence of Government for the purpose of proselytism, that no notice shall be taken of it by the inspectors in their periodical visits."

in advance it is impossible to conceive. It will under God's blessing, greatly help on the evangelization of India, and it remains for the people of England to see its instructions honestly carried out.

I have thus brought forward a few facts, to show the principles which have been laid down by the authorities at home, and acted upon by the authorities abroad. It is a wide subject; I have merely touched upon it; time would not permit more at the present moment. I hope I have said enough to prove that there is another side of the question than that which has been generally represented on platforms and hustings. I hope the people of England will pause before they condemn their countrymen in India; I hope they will hear both sides, and look into the question. They are bound to do so, for, as I said before, the policy of the East India Company is the policy of England; Parliament and the country are responsible for it. Party spirit and faction may ring the changes on the double government and the absence of responsibility; but the Minister of the Crown, the President of the Board of Control, is as responsible for the affairs of India, as the Colonial Minister, or any other minister for his own department.

It is well-known that the Court of Directors can do nothing without the sanction and concurrence of the Board of Control. Where, then, it will be asked, is the use of the Court of Directors? The answer is, that an independent body, which has the initiative in all business, and the right of discussion and remonstrance, and which possesses local knowledge

and experience, must exercise a salutary influence, and prove a wholesome check on the arbitrary will of the Minister of the Crown. Further than this, a permanent body, exempt from political bias and party spirit*, preserves the continuity of the system of

* "But there is another most important consideration in connection with the renewal of the Charter. By the interposition of the Company between the Government and the people of India, the latter are prevented from being exposed to all those continued vicissitudes of political feelings and parties to which they must have been subject had they been under the direct dominion of the Crown of England. Had this been the case I cannot help feeling that the state of political excitement which would be occasioned would have led to disastrous consequences, that mischiefs of all kinds would have ensued, and would have formed an insurmountable barrier to the advance and improvement of the people. I cannot conceive anything more disadvantageous to the people than their being made the sport of party passions and political feelings which take place in this country."—*Speech of Mr. Charles Grant, India Debate*, 1833.

"Sir, what we want is a body independent of the Crown, and no more than independent, which shall be neither the tool of the Ministry, nor of the Opposition. It is not easy in a country like this to constitute such a body, none I have heard suggested would be such a body. The East India Company, strange as its constitution may appear, is such a body. Whatever charges may be brought against it, whether it does act rightly or wrongly, it does not act from political considerations."—*Speech of Mr. Macaulay, India Debate*, 1833.

"The Marquis of Lansdowne acknowledged the advantages that had resulted from the administration of the Company in keeping the interests of India excluded in a greater degree than they otherwise could have been from the several chances and changes of party in this country, and as an intervening body in the possession of patronage which would otherwise be scrambled for by the gladiators of Parliament."—*Speech of Marquis of Lansdowne, India Debate*, 1833.

"The real dangers of British India will commence from the day

government, which would otherwise be liable to change with every changing Ministry.* What did Mr. Fox

when the party spirit of the British Parliament shall be brought to bear directly on its administration.—*Lord Metcalfe.*

" In short the only conclusion to be drawn from all reflection and reasoning on this subject is, that the British Government in India is a phenomenon, and that it will not answer to apply to it in its present state either the rules which guide other governments, or the reasoning on which these rules are founded." — *Letter of Duke of Wellington.*

* " We have not only had four different Presidents of the Board of Control within ten months, but we have also had as many as six different secretaries. . . . . There is nothing like a continuous government in the Board of Control, and there is naturally a great indisposition on the part of any person coming casually into the office to attempt to grapple with a great question like the government of India."—*Speech of Mr. Bright, India Debate,* 1853.

" My own opinion is, that nothing would be more dangerous than to give the Crown the whole control of the thousands upon thousands of the population in that part of the British dominions."—*Speech of Lord John Russell, India Debate,* 1853.

The Court of Directors have been frequently blamed for not oftener pushing their resistance to the Board of Control, in cases in which they disapprove of its policy, to the point of disobeying the law : for nothing less than this is involved in refusing to transmit to India the orders of the Board of Control, thus reducing the Board to the resource of applying for a mandamus. But the case must be a very extreme one which would justify even private citizens, much more a constituted authority, in directly disobeying the law of their country, and the laws by which they hold all the powers they possess. The case of the iniquitous and unjust spoliation of Scinde would have justified such a course, but this was decided in the Secret Department by her Majesty's Ministers alone without even the knowledge of the Court. In two instances only has the Court resorted to this extreme measure. One was in defence of the Government and people of Oude against what the Court deemed an act of spoliation under the guise of settling antiquated pecuniary claims of individual British subjects. The other was for the protection of the Nizam and his subjects against a measure of a somewhat similar character.

say in days of old? "If the dispenser of the plan of governing India has not a greater stability in his situation than a British Ministry, what hope is there of the affairs being administered with advantage to the interests of India or to this country!" Did not a President of the Board of Control in more recent times declare, on the occasion of the recall of Lord Heytesbury, "that he thought it better that the

In one, or probably in both of these cases, if a mandamus had been granted, a majority of the Court of Directors had made up their minds to refuse obedience, and submit to imprisonment. But their resistance compelled a deliberate consideration of the subject by the entire Cabinet, and the objectionable mandates were withdrawn. It will be noticed that in both these instances the cause in which the Court successfully struggled was the defence of the native states of India against acts of injustice promoted by the Board of Control. In the debate on the claims of the bankers on Oude, the present Lord Ellenborough spoke to the following effect in the House of Peers in approval of the course pursued by the Court of Directors:—

"There is another body of persons on whose behalf I wish to say a few words. The noble and learned lord on the woolsack did not throw any reflection on the Court of Directors, but the noble and learned lord opposite (Lord Plunket) did do so. My lords, I must say that the conduct of the Court of Directors, in this transaction, reflects great honour on them. It does not matter to them whether the recommendation of Mr. Grant be adopted or not, they are in no respect interested except as the guardians of the honour and good faith of the administration of India; as such, acting upon their responsibility, acting in the discharge of their duty to those who elected them, and the people of India, they are determined to resist the order of Mr. Grant. In so doing they deserve well of the people of India, and of those who intrusted them with the charge which they hold. I think it a subject of great congratulation to the country that the affairs of the Company are administered by gentlemen of independence."—*Lord Ellenborough's Speech in the House of Lords, 5th May*, 1854.

interests of India should suffer, than that the Minister of the day should be defeated?"

It is this balance of power, this system of check, analogous as it is to the three estates of our own constitution, which has induced our wisest statesmen to preserve the present system. If the period has arrived for remodelling it, for introducing a simpler form, let it be done with deliberation, after due inquiry and investigation, not in the present state of excited feeling at home and abroad, not under pretence that after so many years of success it has proved a failure.

To listen to the opponents of the Company, one would imagine that not a word had ever been spoken in favour of the system of double Government, in support of the administration of the East India Company. I should like to quote opinions on the opposite side — opinions recorded by men like Mill* and

* "To communicate the whole of the impression made upon a mind which has taken a survey of the Government of India by the East India Company more completely through the whole field of its action than was ever taken before, and which has not spared to bring forward into the same light the unfavourable and the favourable points, it may be necessary to state, and this I conceive to be the most convenient occasion for stating that, in regard to *intention*, I know no Government, either in past or present times, that can be placed equally high with that of the East India Company. That I can hardly point out an occasion in which the schemes they have adopted, and even the particular measures they pursued, were not by themselves considered as conducive to the welfare of the people whom they governed. That I know no Government which has on all occasions shown so much of a disposition to make sacrifices of its own interests to the interests of the people whom it governed, and which has, in fact, made so many and such important sacrifices;

Macaulay,* of world-wide fame, and by eminent statesmen who long wielded the destinies of the empire.

that if the East India Company have been so little successful in ameliorating the practical operation of their Government, it has been chiefly owing to the disadvantage of their situation, distant a voyage of several months from the scene of action, and to that imperfect knowledge which was common to them with almost all their countrymen. But that they have never erred so much as when, distrusting their own knowledge, they have followed the directions of men whom they unhappily thought wiser than themselves, viz., practical statesmen and lawyers; and that, lastly, in the highly important point of the servants or subordinate agents of Government there is nothing in the world to be compared to the East India Company, whose servants, as a body, have not only exhibited a portion of talent, which forms a contrast with that of the ill-chosen instruments of other Governments, but have, except in some remarkable instances, as that of the loan transactions with the Nabob of Arcot, maintained a virtue which, under the temptations of their situation is worthy of the highest applause."—*Mill's British India*, vol. vi. page 17.

* "The power of the Company, though an anomaly, is in our time a beneficial anomaly."—*Macaulay's Essays.*

"I had the advantage of hearing a speech delivered by my right honourable friend himself (Mr. Macaulay) twenty years ago, and there is a passage in it equal in force and beauty to anything ever delivered in this house. Speaking of trying the system by its fruits, he said (not in these precise words, of course): 'Under this system you have had men administering the government of millions of subjects; you have had them leading victorious armies; you have had them in times of peace, and in days of conquest; you have had them administering the revenues of mighty provinces; you have had them residing at the courts of tributary kings; and yet those men have returned to their native country with little more than a scanty competency, and sometimes even in circumstances scarcely removed from want.' That was the boast of Malcolm; that is still the noble independent boast of Elphinstone. And again, I say, trying that system by its fruits, prune that tree, if you please; dig a trench

I will not weary the Court, but I hope to be permitted to read the opinion of one of our greatest men, who spoke from personal experience of India and its Government. I mean the Duke of Wellington. This opinion was given in 1833; but if so much could be said in praise of the Indian Government at that time by such a man, how much more could be said now? Though rather long, it seems to me peculiarly apposite at the present moment.

The Duke says, "I will not follow the noble marquis who opened the debate into the consideration of whether a chartered company be the best or not calculated to carry on the Government or the trade of an empire like India: that is not the question to which I wish to apply myself. But whenever I hear of such discussions as this, I recall to my memory what I have seen in that country. I recall to my memory the history of that country for the last fifty or sixty years. I remember its days of misfortune, and its days of glory, and the situation in which it now stands.

round about it if you will; but I implore you to pause and to hesitate before you cut it down. I believe it to be sound at heart. I believe it to be a system on the whole of good government. It is not incapable of improvement. We have endeavoured to improve it."—*Speech of Sir James Graham, India Debate*, 1853.

"Is this system legally to be set aside? Is this form of government to be hastily rejected? We have the advantage of the opinions of Sir Robert Peel and the Duke of Wellington in favour of that system of government. They never hesitated or doubted, amid all our difficulties, that those difficulties would be overcome; and if they were now alive, I am satisfied that they would counsel and entreat you, as I now do, not hastily or rashly to tamper with such a system."—*Speech of Sir James Graham, India Debate*, 1853.

I remember that the Government have conducted the affairs of, I will not pretend to say how many millions

"Dr. Ballantyne assumed charge of the College in the beginning of 1846, and avowed as his object the formation of a class of Pundits, who, skilled in all that is taught in native schools, should also have their minds so tinctured with European habits of feeling, as to be pre-eminent amongst their countrymen. In order to accomplish this object, he first himself mastered the Hindu Philosophy; and he ascertained how much of truth there was in it, and where error commenced. He, at the same time, made available, to his Pundit pupils, the works of European Philosophers, and showed, by treatises of his own composition, how, advancing from the premises of Hindu Philosophy, the correct conclusions of European Philosophy might be attained. In following this course, he acted in consonance with the whole character of our administration in this country. We have not swept over the country like a torrent, destroying all that it found, and leaving nothing but what itself deposited. Our course has rather been that of a gently swelling inundation, which leaves the former surface undisturbed, and spreads over it a richer mould, from which the vegetation may derive a new verdure, and the landscape possess a beauty which was unknown before. Such has been our course in the Civil Administration. In our Systems of Police, of Civil and Criminal Justice, and of Revenue management, we first examined the existing systems,—retained whatever of them we found to be right and just, and then engrafted on this basis new maxims derived from our own institutions. And thus we have succeeded in forming a system, which is generally admitted to have been easy in its operation, and happy in its effect. . . . .

"We are here met together this day, men of different races and of different creeds. If any one section of this assembly had met to dedicate such a building as this to the education of their youth in their own peculiar tenets, they would have given a religious sanction to the act, and would have consecrated the deed by the ceremonial of their faith. But this we cannot do. Unhappily, human opinions, on the subject of religion, are so irreconcilable that we cannot concur in any one act of worship. The more necessary it is then, that each man, in his own breast, should offer up his prayer to the God whom he worships, that here morality may be rightly taught,

of people—they have been calculated at 70,000,000, 80,000,000, 90,000,000, 100,000,000, but certainly

and that here truth, in all its majesty, may prevail. This aspiration may have a different meaning, according to the wishes or belief of the person who forms it; but with many it will point to a new state of things, when a higher philosophy and a purer faith will pervade this land, not enforced by the arbitrary decrees of a persecuting government, not hypocritically professed, to meet the wishes of a proselytizing government, but whilst the government is just and impartial, cordially adopted by a willing people, yielding to the irresistible arguments placed before them. Nor is it unreasonable to expect that such a change may take place. We cannot forget that to such a change we owe the present happy state of things in our own country; and even in this country, changes of the same nature have taken place. It is but a few days ago, that our friend, Major Kittoe, who is as distinguished for antiquarian research as he is for the architectural skill he has shown in this edifice, led a party to view the neighbouring ruins around Sárnáth. He there showed us the undoubted remains of another and a different system, which once prevailed in this land. He showed us its temples, its colleges, its hospitals, and its tombs, now perished and long buried under the earth. A few centuries have so utterly destroyed it, that it is now only known in this part of the country from the obscure allusions of Chinese travellers, the scarcely legible inscriptions on broken sculptures, and the imperfect traditions of a despised sect. And now there flourishes, here on the banks of the Ganges, another system, still vigorous, but already on its wane. And that system may pass away, and give place to another and a better one. From this place may this system spread throughout; nor is it vain to hope that the building in which we are assembled may be one instrument in the mighty change. When it is so, the highest aspirations of those who first designed and mainly promoted its erection, will be fully realized.

"Such is the assured hope and expectation of many here assembled, and there is a large section of the remainder, who share in the expectation, but cannot bring themselves at present to adopt it as their hope. But no undue means will be here employed to effect the end. No religious system will here be exclusively taught.

of an immense population—a population returning an annual revenue of 20,000,000*l.* sterling, and that notwithstanding all the wars in which the empire has been engaged, its debt at this moment amounts only to 40,000,000*l.*, being no more than the amount of two years revenue. I do not say that such a debt is desirable; but at the same time I contend that it is a delusion on the people of this country to tell them that that is a body unfit for Government, and unfit for trade, which has administered the affairs of India with so much success for so many years, and which is at length to be put down, for I can use no other term, upon the ground that it is an institution calculated for the purposes neither of Government nor trade."

Such was the deliberate opinion of the Duke of Wellington. I think the East India Company may well be proud of such testimony, and whatever the result of the ministerial measure, I believe this opinion will be ratified by the thoughtful and unprejudiced of this country, and of all other countries, and that when some future Macaulay shall narrate the history of those great colonies and dependencies which have contributed so largely to the wealth and

This is a common arena, on which all can assemble, and where the common element of truth can be impartially acquired. Let all to whom the cause of truth is sacred, co-operate in promoting the objects of this building. To withdraw from the field will but show that they are conscious of the weakness of their cause."—*Extracts from the speech of the Hon. James Thomason, Lieutenant-Governor, N. W. P., at the opening of the Benares New College, on the* 11*th January*, 1853.

prosperity of the mother-country, the pages which tell of the rise and progress of our magnificent Eastern Empire, under the auspices of the East India Company, and of the brilliant deeds of their servants, will not be found unworthy of England's greatness and England's glory.

THE END.

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LETTER

TO

CAPTAIN EASTWICK,

OCCASIONED BY HIS SPEECH

AT A

SPECIAL COURT OF PROPRIETORS

HELD AT

THE EAST-INDIA HOUSE,

ON THE 20TH OF JANUARY, 1858.

Phl. 4

BY J. M. STRACHAN, ESQ.

LONDON:
SEELEY, JACKSON, AND HALLIDAY, FLEET STREET.

M DCCC LVIII.

W. M. WATTS, CROWN COURT, TEMPLE BAR.

LETTER.

My Dear Sir,

A published copy, with notes, of your Speech at the recent debate at the India House, reached me yesterday. The perusal induces me to give effect to a desire I felt, upon the first reading of a less perfect report, to express to you the high gratification I experienced from many of the sentiments it contains, and my concurrence in most of the points you have so ably argued; while I beg your consideration of some points on which I presume to differ, and to advert to some others, intimately connected with the policy of the Indian Government in regard to Religion and Education, which did not find a place in your address.

The gratification I felt in the perusal of your Speech you will readily suppose arose from the avowal of your hearty "sympathy with the Missionary movement;" of your "solemn belief that God has given us that great country to promote the spread of His Gospel; and that as we fulfil or fall short of this end, so will our reward or punishment as a nation be."

A naturally feeble voice, further enfeebled by indisposition at the time, and the haste with which I spoke at a late hour, when a strong desire had been expressed by the Chairman that the debate should close on that,

the second day, rendered most part of what I then said—as the reporters stated—too indistinct to be heard. It was not suprising, therefore, that what I said was ill understood, and worse reported.

But I did make myself understood in some particulars: 1st. As regarded my cordial agreement with the masterly reasoning of the Petition of the Company, except in the point of the deprecatory language regarding non-interference with the religion of the natives; the language used in the Petition seeming to me to be capable of almost any interpretation the reader may be disposed to ascribe to it.

I was also rightly understood as disclaiming all desire to see the direct interference of Government employed in the work of proselytism, and still less any authoritative interference, or what some of your colleagues termed "forced conversions:" proceedings which I affirmed would be as injurious to our object, as they would be contrary to the spirit and precepts of Christianity.

With equal plainness I disclaimed, on my own part, and that of many others, all opposition to the Court of Directors; acknowledging the sympathy and support in our main object—which is the peaceable extension in India of our holy religion by all legitimate means—on the part of many of the members of the Court at different periods; and giving full credit for sincerity in *their* views, to those who hold the doctrine of non-interference with the religion of the natives, even in educational schemes, to an extent which I do not.

If I had been in Court on the following day, when Mr. Prinsep spoke, I should have challenged him to produce proofs of his charge against the Church Missionary Society, for the alleged unfriendly feeling towards the Court of Directors. His statement relative to the "Circulars," of which he spoke, having been sent to every minister in the metropolis, and possibly to every minister in the country, was inaccurate in all the particulars. Freely as that Society is entitled to speak of the policy of the Indian Government in matters with which the Society, throughout its whole history and proceedings, has always freely dealt—and must always deal freely—not a sentiment is to be found in its public documents, with which I am acquainted, which can be fairly interpreted as inimical to the East-India Company, or its Directors—as such. I could, if needed, cite from those documents very decisive sentiments of an opposite character.

I should likewise have asked for Mr. Prinsep's proofs of the "especial favour" shewn to that Society in India, presuming that in his remark Mr. Prinsep must have referred to the favour shown to the Society by Government. If he meant that the Society's Missionaries have had perfect liberty to prosecute their beneficent design without obstruction, I fully acknowledge that in that respect the Society has enjoyed all the favour it ever sought for in India. But that is no special favour. The liberty conceded to *its* Missionaries they have enjoyed in common with the Agents of every other Missionary Society; and they owe it

to the rights granted to all by the Parliament of this country. If, however, Mr. Prinsep meant that the Society has been specially favoured by the British community in India; then I gratefully acknowledge that the Church Missionary Society has been especially favoured in that country; for it has for many years derived a considerable part of its income from the voluntary contributions of a large proportion of your public servants, in every branch of official employment throughout India. It has found among its warmest friends many of your most distinguished public men; and it records, with allowable gratification, that the men whom the nation and its Sovereign now delight to honour—and some of those over whose graves the whole nation has wept—have been numbered among its best and most generous supporters. And it justly derives, from this fact, a confident assurance that the favour enjoyed by the Society in India, is the best testimony it could receive of its fair claim to that favour. For those who have so countenanced its exertions being the persons best fitted, by personal knowledge of its Missions, to appreciate its labours, have thus unmistakeably recognised the merits of the Society and its Agents. Moreover, among these friends of its cause, there are parties placed in various important posts, and possessed of ample means of acquaintance with the people, who are no less capable of comprehending the bearing of the Missionary movement in a political, as well as in a religious and social point of view. If these circumstances justify the favour

enjoyed by the Church Missionary Society in India, I am convinced that no other part of the proceedings of the Society, if fairly judged, will be suffered to impair the favourable opinion of the Society, formed by your Court so recently as the month of July last, when in a despatch to the Government of India—to which I shall have occasion to refer more largely in the sequel—the Court, speaking of the Society, said, "We are well aware that the Church Missionary Society has been marked equally for zeal as for rectitude of intention, and laborious devotion to benevolent objects."*

On a review of these circumstances, I must think that the Members of the Court, who in the late debate referred to the proceedings of Missionary Societies, would have best consulted their own dignity, and that of the Court, and the claims of the policy they advocated, in connexion with the question of religion, if they had restricted their observations *to the merits of their policy*—as the Church Missionary Society has done when stating its views of that policy—and left the public and the Legislature to form their judgment on this momentous question, unbiassed by heated references—often erroneous—to those who, as you have candidly admitted, may conscientiously differ in judgment as to the mode of attaining the object which all must allow to be of inappreciable importance.

I must add, that in my Speech at the Court of

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* Despatch on the Education of the Santhals, to Governor-General of India, 22d July, 1857.

Proprietors, I declared that I was as earnest for the fullest toleration for the Hindoo and Mohammetan, as I was anxious for encouragement for the Christian native. I acknowledged at the same time the ameliorations which had taken place in the legislation on these subjects of late years, referring particularly to the despatch of February 1833, which I learned, by the first report I saw of your Speech, you had mentioned, and proposed should be reprinted; as you have very properly done, for the most part, in the notes of your published copy; and to the Educational Despatch of 1854, from which document you have quoted a passage, which recognises in the strongest terms the "service rendered to Education in India by the noble exertions of Christians of all denominations to guide the natives of India in the way of religious truth." That despatch, as you added, directs "the introduction of the Grant-in-aid system throughout India, by which the Government affords liberal aid to all Missionary Schools which are willing to accept its aid, thereby directly promoting religious instruction and Bible reading."

It was in allusion to those despatches particularly, I remarked, that if the instructions they contained were fully carried out, I believed the Court would have heard comparatively little of the "outcry" of the religious public of this country, of which so much complaint has been made. You have yourself frankly admitted that, as regards the instructions of those despatches, "more remains to be done;" that "the severance of the

Government [from the native religious institutions] is not yet complete;" and you have allowed that "it remains for the people of England to see the instructions [of those despatches] honestly carried out."

With most of those, I believe, with whom I have been associated in Missionary undertakings, I desired, in the first instance, little more than to exercise, in a right temper and spirit, the duty you have assigned to us, "to see the instructions of those despatches honestly carried out."

Recent circumstances, however, have given to the opinions and measures of the religious public a more than ordinary urgency. You have remarked that "the late terrible events in India have demolished many theories, and overthrown many preconceived ideas." It is not the adherents of those theories only who have been constrained to adopt that opinion. There are many feel that the *religious question* must not be excluded from review any more than other matters of policy affecting that country and people. Such men have been forced to think, from what has happened, that if more legitimate encouragement had been given by the Indian Government to the Christian element, as it began to show itself among the natives, the atrocities which have occurred might have been alleviated, if not prevented. Moreover, indications have lately appeared, that instead of *the onward course* which, in respect to all the great matters of policy, you intimate must take place—measures adapted to "an increased intelligence and enlarged experience"—*a retrograde course* in the

policy of Government in regard to the matters I am referring to, may be contemplated.

I will explain to what I allude. If you have thought it right to challenge the rash sayings, which you have quoted from political rather than religious opponents, what may not the earnest and sincere men to whom I refer—and whom you admit may conscientiously differ on some of your points—make of the declarations in Parliament of a noble Lord (whom you quote for political purposes), as to the heinous offence of your Governor-General subscribing to a Missionary Society? and to the echo of that sentiment from a Cabinet minister, declaring that the individual so offending was worthy of being recalled? If hasty expressions on "platforms and hustings" can be construed into grave charges on one side of the question, how are you to expect sentiments of statesmen to be regarded, when spoken in the debates of the highest legislative assembly of the kingdom?

I might cite instances of recent occurence in India, as significant for the present times, as those "old stories" of real facts, to which you alluded, were in their day of the policy *they* typified. It may not be agreeable that those stories should be disinterred from "the grave" to which you would have them consigned. But surely such facts may still be referred to, if the still older traditionary policy of which they were the indication, is to continue to live and flourish amidst the applause of men of mark in Indian circles. To come, however, to present times. Among recent circumstances, too much resembling indeed instances of

other times, may be mentioned the circumstance of the address of Christian natives in Bengal, which was not acknowledged by the Government as the addresses of other classes of natives were acknowledged, nor their offers of service and assistance of cattle accepted, difficult as it was at the time to find transport for the public service. And this withholding of fair recognition was because the parties were Christians—in defiance of the ostentatious declaration of the principle of neutrality—or holding the balance among all creeds even.

But a more decisive proof of the retrograde direction of the present policy in these matters, is found nearer home, being unfortunately afforded by the despatch of the Court of Directors to the Governor-General in Council, dated 22d July last, respecting the education of the Santhals. To understand this affair correctly the whole case must be stated. The statement, although in abridged form, being too long for a note, will be found appended to this letter.

I will here state the matter summarily. It is observed in the Court's despatch that all the documents relating to it were not before them when the despatch was written. They are before me at this time, and the chief facts they contain are these. The Santhals, a wild uncivilized race, broke out, under the instigation of fanatical leaders, in a fierce insurrection, attended with terrible atrocities, in the year 1855. After its suppression, the Superintendant of Education at Bhagulpore considered it indispensable that measures should be taken to introduce education and civilization among

the ignorant and barbarous people. With this view he conferred with a Missionary stationed at Bhagulpore, who had visited the Santhals and opened experimental schools among them. The result of the conference was the suggestion of a scheme suited to the particular circumstances of the people. The scheme was proposed to the Director of Education at Calcutta, supported by the strong recommendation of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal to the Government of India. The Director of Education opened a communication with the Calcutta Committee of the Church Missionary Society, with a view to engage its concurrence in the employment of their Missionary in the work; and the scheme, with some modifications, received the sanction of the Government of India, and was ordered to be carried into effect, the Government bearing the expense of the secular part of the education, the Church Missionary Society the expense of the religious part and of the superintendence. Immediate measures were taken to give effect to the scheme. Schools were opened in several Santhal villages. The people entered into the scheme eagerly. No concealment was employed as to the religious part of the scheme. The chiefs and people, as you will see it reported, heartily desired to embrace the religion of their rulers, "to have one day the same God to worship whom their rulers worship."

The scheme had thus, in all its parts, had the entire concurrence of the people themselves, of the local official authorities, of the Directors of Public Education, provincial and central, and of the Government. All

was in hopeful progress towards success, when the Court's despatch arrived, and the undertaking was ordered to be abandoned.

It is true that the Court, in cancelling the scheme recommended from India, approved of the establishment of schools for secular teaching, into which no religious instruction is to be permitted to enter. But irrespective of other considerations which this decision affects, the hopelessness of any moral or social advantage resulting from such schools, and the substitution of teachers of castes, suspected and avoided (as you will see from the documents) by the Santhals, in place of teachers respected and loved by them, will be apparent from a perusal of the documents in the Appendix.

Let the case be examined in all its parts. What was its *object?* A barbarous people, at the conclusion of a fierce insurrection, "equally debased," as the Court's despatch rightly describes them, "in ignorance, and devoid of rational religion," upon whom Christian influence had been found to bear beneficially—as it has universally when fairly applied to similar races—for whom the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal therefore, with a perfect knowledge of the case in all its relations, and with a wise regard alike to the demands of policy, of benevolence, and Christianity, desired to secure the benign influences of that only effective remedy for the woes of debasing ignorance and barbarism. Such was the object. The *mode of proceeding* for its attainment, was Christian education, under competent direction, the fitness of the agency being ascertained from previous

acquaintance with the people, and the deservedly high character of the individual to whom the direction was entrusted. The parties who have thoroughly considered the scheme, and concur in its adoption, are the Public Functionaries in the Department of Education, provincial and central, the local Government, and the Government of India.

It will be seen, that instead of the scheme originating with the Calcutta Committee of the Church Missionary Society, as the Court's Despatch annulling it erroneously assumes, it originated with your most distinguished officials in Bengal, and came home with the recommendation of the Government of India, under the full persuasion of the scheme being in accordance with the spirit of the instructions of the Educational Despatch of 1854, which you have so justly eulogised. And how has the scheme, so devised, considered, and matured by some of the most efficient of your public servants and high officials in India, been disposed of here? It is instantly rejected without waiting for the explanatory documents. And why? Because the unhappy beings are found partly scattered among the Hindoo and the Mussulman inhabitants of the plains—populations which have no religious sympathy or relation whatever with the Santhals, between whom and them, indeed, a strong enmity exists. And thus all the benefits contemplated by the Authorities abroad are to be cast away, lest the Government should be suspected of favouring a scheme for the purpose of civilizing and instructing the people by a Christian Missionary; that

Missionary having been solicited by your Government to undertake the benevolent office on a plan which, after all, left the Society to which the Missionary belongs to bear the greatest part of the expense.

Nor is this the whole of the case. I cite it in order to illustrate what must be deemed the *threatened retrograde policy* which it indicates even with regard to Education. A main object of the Grants-in-aid system is, as you have rightly remarked, that the Government, by its means, "affords liberal aid to all Missionary schools which are willing to accept it, thereby directly promoting religious instruction and Bible reading."

By the terms of the Santhal despatch, the whole system of the Grants-in-aid is jeopardized, as regards the Christian Schools; for the Government, in every grant made to a Christian School, has contributed towards its *support* —and such an act is now repudiated.*

Either, then, you have been misled—as the Indian Government have been misled—as regards the Educational Despatch of 1853, or the despatch of July last is plainly *a retrograde movement*, in every sense of the words. And this is done at a time when, with a force of language and in a spirit calculated to inspire confidence and hope in every true friend of India, you spoke for progress "in an age of progress," and declared that

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* We do not feel, therefore, that, in dealing with the Santhals, we are exempt from the necessity of maintaining that cautious line of proceeding which we ought always to deem so essential in the establishments founded or *supported by Government for the education of the people of India.*

"all the institutions of Government must be adapted to our increasing intelligence and enlarged experience."

With your recognition of the duty "of the people of England to see the instructions [of the Educational Despatch] honestly carried out," in connexion, as it stands in your Speech (pp. 25, 26), "with religious instruction and Bible reading," can you be surprised that the people you appeal to should be alarmed, and in terms of more than ordinary earnestness, call *for the onward movement*, rather than silently witness *backward measures;* for which some voices are heard, in agreement with the terms of the late untoward despatch, to argue?

If I speak strongly on this subject it will perhaps not be deemed unreasonable when I state that the proposal for the Grants-in-aid scheme originated with Dr. Duff of Calcutta and myself. A paper urging the introduction of the Bible into the Government Schools and Colleges of India; or, if that were refused, representing the claims of Christian Schools to a portion of the Government grants for education; with a memorandum appended containing a sketch of the Grant-in-aid scheme, written by Dr. Duff at my request, was laid before the then Chairman of the Court of Directors and the President of the Board of Control. The adoption of the Grant-in-aid scheme followed; and it is known that the Grant-in-aid was accepted as a compromise, and the introduction of the Bible into the Government Schools was pressed no further. That compromise was adhered to so long as it was believed that it would be carried out, as you have described the operation of the

measure, liberally; regarding it, as you do, as a "most important step in advance." But when that system was found to be virtually, by the Santhal despatch, abandoned, as regards Christian Schools, I joined in the prayer of the Church Missionary Society for the introduction of the Bible into all Schools and Colleges, established by Government, as the only safe and effective source of moral culture which a Christian state should recognise, where voluntary education is concerned.

To the dangers apprehended from the introduction of the Bible into Government Schools, experience affords the only rational reply. The Bible has always been used in Christian Mission Schools, without repugnance, much less danger. Until the comparatively recent measures for the extension of Vernacular Schools in the North-Western Provinces, and some other parts, the number of scholars in the Christian Schools outnumbered those in Government Schools and Colleges fourfold. I am not aware of the relative proportions now. But I will present to you two well-known instances of the perfect safety and advantage with which the Scriptures have been taught to Hindoos of all castes and Mussulman youths, mingling without hesitation in the same Schools with Christians.

The first is from an account of the examination of the Scotch Mission Schools at Madras, held before the late Governor, Sir Henry Pottinger, shortly before he quitted that Government. There were in the Schools attached to the Missions at different stations 2520 scholars, of whom 690 were females. The Parent

Institution had been sixteen years in existence. The great majority of the pupils were high-caste children, with many Mohammetans, native Christians, and Pariahs. A very high standard of secular education was attained: but instruction in the Bible was the predominant feature. At the end of the examination, which occupied three hours, His Excellency the Governor addressed the pupils as follows—

"Pupils and Boys—From what I had formerly heard, I will not deny that I came here with somewhat high expectations. These, I am bound to add, have been more than exceeded. I am not only gratified; I am surprised by what I have now witnessed. Such an education I was not prepared to meet with in any School of this land. I congratulate Mr. Anderson and his coadjutors on their success. I rejoice to learn, from Mr. Anderson's communications about the Branch Schools, that the Bible and other good books are not only well, but enthusiastically received in various parts of this Presidency. I rejoice that you have been taught the Bible. Prize it above all other books. I trust you will continue to study it, for this is *the best book to show you the path of life.* I may not be present at another examination of this Institution, but I hope that in future years the results of your labours will be as great as in years past. To yourself, Mr. Anderson, I must say, I cannot go down stairs without expressing my high satisfaction with what I have seen and heard. Your pupils answered fairly every question put to them; there was no evasion of difficulties in any of the classes.

In every department examined they were perfect. I congratulate you, and all who have assisted you in this great work, on the results of your labours. I trust you will go on and prosper. Though in a short time I shall be far removed from you, yet I will always remember what I have heard this night, and will ever regard your efforts with deep interest. Be pleased to convey to the monitors and gentlemen who have assisted you my deep respect for them. I pray that God may bless you and your labours.

"His Excellency, Sir Henry Pottinger, then retired, after having listened with intense interest for upwards of three hours.

"The substance of the Governor's speech was explained to the pupils both in English and Tamil.*

The other instance is from Rajah Jaynarain's College at Benares. This instance is purposely selected at a great distance from the other, and in a locality where, above all other places, the use of the Christian Scriptures in a School might be supposed to be especially objectionable, and even hazardous. Similar cases might, however, be presented of Schools at most of the principal towns along the whole distance from the south to the north of India.

Jaynarain's College was founded and endowed by a rich native of the highest caste; and was by him placed under the care of the Church Missionary Society. It comprises pupils from the highest to the lowest castes;

* "Christian Education in India," by P. Cator, Esq., 1858.

but by far the larger proportion are Brahmin youths. The higher branches of learning in English and the native languages are taught; but, as in the Madras School, the Bible and the Evidences of Christianity are the chief subjects. There is no concealment as to the object of the College; and with that object fully known, the College has always had a larger number of pupils than the Government College of the same city. Since the year 1844, school fees have been paid by the scholars; and it is believed that this was the first instance in which school fees were demanded in any School in the North-west Provinces; and the College has at all times had the sons of some of the most wealthy and respectable inhabitants of Benares.

In this College the practice of closing school during the native festivals, as the Doorga-poojah—which is the practice in the Government Colleges and Schools—is not observed, and the classes are, notwithstanding, well attended at those times.

The late lamented Lieutenant-Governor of the North-west Provinces, Mr. Colvin, visited this College during his journey to the seat of his government, and witnessed an examination of the pupils, including the Bible classes. Struck with their acquaintance with the Scriptures, he inquired of the scholars if they were perfectly content to be so taught in the Bible, and was cheerfully answered that they were. Turning from the scene he remarked, "Then that question is settled."

What answer can be given to these facts? or how are the inferences which naturally flow from such facts

to be evaded in "an age of progress," when "all our institutions must be adapted to our increased intelligence and enlarged experience?"

I refrain from doing more than touch the question of the consequences to be apprehended from the overthrow of the faith of Hindoo and Mussulman youths in their respective creeds, which is the certain effect of the instruction in western literature and science in the Government Colleges. You will see the point referred to in the letter of the Inspector of Education in the Santhal case.

Those consequences have been often declared by persons most competent to judge of the fact, for the qualities of "young Bombay" and "young Bengal" have not been slow of development.* Deprived of their hereditary

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* "*The Government, in fact, does not know what it is doing.* No "doubt it is breaking down those superstitions, and dispersing "those mists, which, by creating weakness and disunion, faci- "litated the conquest of the country; but instead of substituting "any useful truth, or salutary principles, for the ignorance and "false principles which they remove, they are only facilitating the "dissemination of the most pernicious errors, and the most demo- "ralizing and revolutionary principles. I have been appalled by "discovering the extent to which athestical and deistical writings, "*together with disaffection to the British Government and* "*hatred to the British name, have spread, and are spreading,* "*among those who have been educated in Government Schools or* "*are now in the service of Government.* The direction of the "Government system of education is rapidly falling into the "hands of astute Brahmins, whom you know, and who know "how to take advantage of such a state of things, and, at the "same time, to strengthen themselves by alliance with Parsi and "Mussulman prejudices, while the European gentlemen, who still

remain

faith, and cast loose without any fixed principles—too often made familiar with the worst English literature, and with no pure moral element in their own—a few exceptional cases will not save the bulk of those youths from the charge of a wild infidelity, and all its worst consequences.

I adverted briefly to two other points, when speaking at the debate at the India House, to which some reference must be made here. I allude, in the first place, to the caste question, as affecting the *status* of Christian natives. The caste question must be reviewed by the light of recent experience, in the re-modelling of the Bengal army. I do not presume to enter upon this large, and, to a great extent, professional question. I limit my remarks to the case of the Christian native and low-caste Hindoo, in connexion with the administration of justice. In the year 1853, a Memorial was addressed to Parliament (but being in the native lan-

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" remain nominally at the head of the system, know nothing of " the undercurrents which pervade the whole; or consider themselves as bound, either by principle or policy, not to make any " exertions in favour of Christian truth, while the professed object " of the Government is to give secular instruction only. Now, " what is required, in order to counteract the tendency of such a " system? To enlighten the public at home, particularly those " who have most influence in East-Indian affairs, by laying the " real state of the case before them, appears to me to be the first " thing required. *The whole subject of Government education* " *requires to be re-considered, and in the spirit of the age.*"—From a former Professor in the Bombay Government Schools. (" Memoirs on the Education of the Natives of India," by the late R. C. Money, Esq. Reprinted 1857.)

guage, was not presentable), signed by 501 Christian native householders in Tinnevelly. It prayed for the relief of grievances, arranged under six different heads. I will throw into a note* the complaint about the administration of justice to Christians and low-caste people. Surely it ought not to be difficult to exempt a court of justice from such an intolerable abuse of privilege on the part of the higher castes.

In that province there are upwards of 80,000 Chris-

* "In consequence of heathen alone holding office, all low castes of the people are not allowed even to enter the Cutcherry to make their complaints. Inasmuch as Brahmins and other high-caste men alone hold office, persons of their caste alone are permitted to enter the Courts, and formally to make their complaints, and to obtain assistance. Low-caste people, such as Shanars, Pallars, Pariars, Sakkilliyars, Semmars, Washermen and Barbers, &c., are prevented from entering. When these men receive injustice, they are obliged to take their complaints in their hands, and, standing at a distance, to call out, as men invoke God, saying, 'Swamy, Swamy.' If there happen to be a benevolently disposed person at hand, he will enter the Cutchery and announce the man's cry. Sometimes their complaint will by this means be received shortly; otherwise the man has to wait a day or two before it is received. In the mean time, if the person complained of is a high-caste man, he enters, gives the officers a bribe, and evades justice; he also then makes a false complaint, and puts himself into the position of the other. Moreover, when low-caste witnesses are examined, whether in a case of wounding, beating, murder, theft, and such like, or in a case affecting lands, the witness is obliged to stand at a great distance, and if, in the course of examination, a high-caste man comes near, the witness is obliged to run off to a greater distance; and thus, while he says one thing, the others write another, and consequently justice fails. This state of things takes place every day in each of the thirteen Talook Cutcheries.

tians; and the Memorial states that there were only two Christian natives employed under Government, and that they were not natives of the province.

It cannot be denied that Christianity does suffer discouragement, while the very Courts of Justice—the power which professes above all earthly powers (as it is the emblem of the highest power) to have no respect of persons—are thus disturbed by the assumed prerogatives of caste; and the Christian, whatever his heathen status may have been, is reduced in the eyes of the population at large to the abject condition of an outcast.

With this state of things in the province where the largest proportion of Christian natives are found in the South of India, I need not refer to individual instances of exclusion in different branches of the Government service, each case of exclusion telling over a large surface of native society, and certainly not influencing it for good.

There are instances which Krishna Mohun Banerjea, (a name too well known to require explanation) has told, of the discouragements of Christians in the higher classes of society in Bengal, in a letter which I was formerly permitted by his correspondent to make use of, and from which I will extract some passages below.*

* In the most important educational establishment, the Hindu College of Calcutta, Christian natives are not allowed to receive the advantages of education. This is practically putting native Christianity at an immense discount: the invidious exclusion is felt as a great grievance. I have two nephews, who, if my brother had not embraced Christianity, would have entered the

But there is one other case strikingly in point which I ought not to omit. It is of Rajah Jaynarain, of

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the Hindu College like their father and myself; but because they are Christians, they are debarred from the benefit of the College. I have a third nephew, son of my sister, who, with her husband, is a heathen; and he is studying in the Hindu College. You may say this is a trifling thing, not fit to be brought to the notice of a Director: It may be a trifling thing; but trifling things when summed up become important: and how can one say that this disability, connived at and tolerated by Government, is not retarding conversions in many instances? I know my brother considers it no small trial that he cannot place his sons in the Hindu College. As far as general education is concerned, we consider *that* to be the most suitable institution for native lads.

But the Hindu College not only refuses to admit converts, but also expels those who, having been duly admitted, are led to embrace Christianity afterwards. A most distressing case occurred a year or two ago, of a boy being expelled from the Hindu College because of his conversion. He is now in a fair way of being very much degenerated intellectually. A native teacher also was obliged to withdraw from the Hindu College, because he embraced Christianity.

While Brahmins and Mollahs, as ministers of the respective systems, are not disqualified for service in the educational department, Christian ministers are so practically. There is a strong feeling in the Governors of the country, that no Christian minister can be appointed to any public College. The Rev. A. W. Wallis was indeed appointed by Mr. Thomason, as Principal of the Benares College. He was accidentally superseded. But I have heard from members of the Council of Education, that Mr. Wallis's appointment would never have been suffered by the Court of Directors, who have forbidden the appointment of clergymen, even as members of Local Committees, and of the Council of Education. These disabilities certainly destroy that even balance which should be maintained between the different opinions which divide the population; but here are certain advantages which the State withholds from Christianity, though it allows them to other religions.

Benares, the founder of the Christian College in that city, some account of which has just been given. The following brief notice of Jaynarain was communicated to a public journal, by a former Principal of the College now a clergyman in this country.

"The founder of that College, after struggling a long time against the convictions of the truths of Christianity, which had been excited in his mind through the instrumentality of the gentleman who cured him of his illness, at length stifled them, by saying, that '*had the Christian religion been true, the Company Bahadur, which had, in other respects, benefited his country, would not have withheld from at least commending this religion to their notice.*'"

That the Christian natives are not unworthy of the favour of Government, the crisis of danger has made apparent. Wherever the English suffered during that calamitous period, they suffered; and wherever an opportunity offered to evince their loyalty to our rule, and their community of interest or of danger with our countrymen, those qualities were not wanting. In numerous cases they exhibited a stedfast adherence to their faith, under the alternate temptations of bribery and torture, some even unto death; and others of constancy at their post, in the face of threatened destruction, worthy of the days of Christian heroism, when men counted not their lives dear unto them so that they might finish their course with joy. The sentiments of the address from Christian natives, which was not received as those were from every other class of the

population, will be seen at the foot of this page.* In Agra, when all the Hindoos and Mussulman servants forsook their masters, the Christian natives supplied

* "TO THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA.

"The humble address of the native Christians, residing in the district of Kishnagurh.

"It is now one hundred years that, by the Divine favour, the illustrious English have, in a very wonderful manner, brought under their dominion and good government a great part of the world, by which the people of Bengal have enjoyed great security, and lived in happiness and safety. The Government have promulgated very beneficial laws for the punishment of the wicked, and the protection of the peaceable inhabitants; and by many kinds of gifts and honours have manifested this affection towards their subjects, and rendered them illustrious; the very relation of which benefits almost produces tears.

"But what painful circumstances have now arisen, that suddenly, like thunder, in the midst of the territories of such powerful and very just English, danger has arisen. Alas! their own forces have revolted, and manifest treason in many parts of the Honorable Company's territories. Especially do they slay persons connected with the Government [*lit.* royal persons], with their wives and children. These bad news we have learned through many of the newspapers, and in the trouble of our governors we are troubled; and with troubled minds we give our signatures to state, that, in case any further troubles should arise, we native Christians in the Kishnagurh Districts, if called on, will be ready to aid the Government to the utmost of our power, both by bullock-garries and men, or in any other way in which our services may be required, and that cheerfully, and without wages or remuneration.

"If a letter be sent to the Missionaries in the Kishnagurh District, what we have said shall be cheerfully done: they will exert themselves to give their people, or to aid in any way that may be required. We native Christians, being happy in the prosperity of the Government, desire also to share in the troubles that may come upon it."

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their places, even in the highest households; and they served, as a police raised for the occasion, with courage and fidelity.

At Benares, to evince the respect in which the Native-Christian teachers of the Mission Schools were held, when all the European community quitted their houses in the city, protection was afforded to those teachers in the houses of some of the principal Hindoo inhabitants. And intimately connected with the cause of the Christian natives and the Missionary movement, which has so justly your heartfelt sympathy, it may be allowable to add here, that at the same station, while other Europeans everywhere appeared armed, and few natives of the better classes appeared abroad unarmed, Missionaries walked through the city without other defence than the respect acquired by their office and their characters. Our senior Church Missionary, Mr. Leupolt — like Swartz in his day in the South of India — became a chief dependence of the Commissariat for the supplies required for the public service from the neighbouring inhabitants, when the ordinary means of providing them were unavailing or imperfect.

While this letter was passing through the press, I learned, by recent communication from Calcutta, that when no acknowledgment of the Christians' address appeared, inquiry was made as to the cause of the delay. The inquirer was referred from one department of Government to another, until at length, in an interview with the Chief Secretary, he was informed that *if he wished it*, the address might be acknowledged. He intimated that he did not wish to embarrass the Government, and so the matter dropped.

In approaching the conclusion of a letter whose length has much exceeded my intention, allow me to draw your attention to another fact which I referred to in the debate on the Company's Petition. The fact is this, that the parts of our Empire in India where the greatest degree of tranquillity has prevailed throughout the recent calamitous season, have been the Punjab and the Presidency of Madras. And those parts have rendered the most effectual assistance in troops and supplies to the disturbed districts; services to which the safety indeed of the empire has been justly attributed by the highest authorities. Many reasons have been suggested to account for the peaceful condition of those parts of the empire, of the Punjab especially. Suffer one among the many of its eminent public servants to give *his* explanation of this remarkable fact, as expressed in a communication to a friend, while the conflict in the North-west Provinces was as its height.

"In your time we used to keep a garrison of 12,000 reliable soldiers to hold the country (Peshawur) and repel invasion. Now we have killed about one-third of them, some of the other two thirds are occupied day and night in watching the remainder. We depend on the people for internal, and on Dost Mahommed Khan for external peace. That's our present position. An anxious one enough, God knows. It is of no use to talk of wise or vigorous measures, though in General Cotton we have had the best of commanders. But Providence, God's mercy, has alone kept this frontier in the wonderful state of peace that it has enjoyed since

this mutiny invited the very worms to come out of the earth. I assure you I never thought we could have got through this summer without a bloody conflict. Often and often we have been on the verge of it; but is it not a perfect miracle, that while all the Bengal Presidency is convulsed, Peshawur has had less crime than ever was known. I have no sort of doubt that we have been honoured, because we honoured God in establishing the Mission. And what a light it throws from the frontier on the disasters of a Government which 'carefully abstained from hurting the prejudices of the natives,' as the phrase runs in the foolscap sheets. This convulsion seems to me intended to hold up Hindooism and Mohammedanism, and Nothing-at-all-ism to England. No one can say *now* that his attention has not been called to it. I hope —— will be put to confusion now, and that in future our Government will take its stand on openly Christian principles, and endeavour, by all fair teaching and example, to Christianize the sects which find their natural expression in the murder of man, the dishonour of woman, and the roasting of children. I forgot to tell you that the Kirkee Kyl Kyberees paid a fine of 3000 rupees for the murder of Lieutenant Hand, committed last January. They refused to pay when we were strong. This is a specimen of how we have been going on."

And as to Madras, let that too-much-overlooked Presidency have its due. It was there that the Vellore mutiny occurred, the prototype — happily instantaneously crushed—but in its elements the prototype of

that mutiny which is now seen, as we trust, in its last throes in the North-west Provinces. When that appalling event at Vellore occurred, no Christian Missionary had a legal footing in the Madras territories; but the largest and closest connexion had been formed there, in evil days, with the religious institutions of the natives. And *there* honours, revolting to all enlightened Christian feeling, were required to be rendered to their ceremonies and festivals. *There* all these things have been corrected. The orders of the despatch of 1833, which you have reproduced, have, at that Presidency, well nigh received their fulfilment. *There*, too, the greatest extension of Christianity in India in modern times has taken place, and the largest Christian efforts continue to be made. I have already acknowledged that those efforts are pursued without hindrance of any kind from the local Government, and with the zealous support of no inconsiderable proportion of its best servants in all departments. And what has been the result? Undisturbed security throughout that Presidency, though with scarcely a complete regiment of European soldiers remaining within its extensive provinces; while all Bengal and the Central and North-west Provinces were convulsed.

If "the late terrible events," as you have remarked, "have demolished many theories, and overthrown many pre-conceived ideas," and suggested important lessons for the guidance of the rulers of India in the future adjustment of their policy; are the facts and experience of a far different and happier aspect, which I

have presented to you, and which suggest to the Christian philanthropist lessons full of encouragement and hope for his labours, to be always disregarded by the statesmen to whose hands are confided the destinies of that magnificent empire, with all its responsibilities?

With the sentiments you have expressed of the connexion between the nation's policy and duty, as regards its highest mission in India, it may seem superfluous to suggest — what some appear so slow to learn — that righteous acts will never fail to justify their own expediency; and that He "who ruleth in the kingdoms of men, and giveth them to whomsoever He will," has declared that He will honour them that honour Him. And how can the Most High be more honoured, and His creatures of every nation, kindred, and tongue, be more benefited, than by affording countenance and encouragement to all legitimate means for presenting to their acceptance His own message of mercy and grace in the Gospel of His Son, the only Saviour.

Believe me,

Very sincerely yours,

J. M. STRACHAN.

February 10*th*, 1858.

CAPTAIN EASTWICK,

&c. &c. &c.

APPENDIX.

THE SANTHAL EDUCATION CASE.

THE following statement of the case is abridged from the official papers.

The Rev. E. Dröse, a Missionary of the Church Missionary Society, stationed at Bhagulpore, had made frequent tours among the Santhals before the insurrection of those tribes broke out in 1855, and had established experimental Schools in some of their villages. One School had been chosen for the fuller trial of his plan. It was popular, and, though irregularly attended, was promising to answer, when the insurrection broke out. The Santhals of the place urged the Christian Teachers to depart, lest the insurgents from other parts should molest them, and escorted them in safety towards Bhagulpore; and the people of that village remained quiet while the insurrection prevailed, having been dissuaded by the teachers from joining the insurgents.

When the insurrection was suppressed, Mr. Chapman—then Educational Inspector in Bahar—conferred with Mr. Dröse as to the most advisable means of introducing education and civilization among the degraded tribes. The results of that conference were reported to the Director of Public Instruction at Calcutta, in a letter dated Bhagulpore, 26th February 1856, from which the following are extracts.

1. "I have already mentioned to you that my thoughts have been for some time occupied with the subject of the introduction of Education among the Santhal tribes in my division.

2. "It cannot be concealed that among the prominent general causes of the late disastrous movements among that

people, the utter want of education was one of the most certain and fatal. The gross absurdity of the pretensions to a divine mission on the part of the leaders of the insurrection, and the utter hopelessness of the success of the enterprise they had undertaken against a power so incomparably superior to them, must have been patent to any people not sunk to the lowest depths of bestial ignorance.

. . . . . .

5. "In thinking over the various plans that suggested themselves to my mind for commencing the education of the Santhals, my attention was directed strongly to the operations now being carried on, with Government aid, by the Rev. W. Lewis, among the wild tribes of the Khaisa Hills. I had hailed with delight the countenance thus given by Government to Missionary efforts; and it seemed to me clear, that what is good for the Khaisa Garrows will be good, in all probability, for the Santhals and Saharis of the Domawikah. There are many reasons why it would be difficult for Government to introduce an educational organization of its own among such tribes. The experience required in the first instance does not exist among Government officers; nor could the necessary close and special superintendence be attained in such an organization, unless at an expenditure much beyond what is ordinarily at the disposal of Government for such purposes. Supposing, even, that this could be supplied, it would be in vain to look for the untiring zeal and self-devotion of a true Missionary from a Government officer. The latter not only *may not have*, but is absolutely debarred from the lofty and ennobling springs of action which are the characteristics of the former. If, then, the Government can secure the services of a zealous Missionary in such a field, and if there be no political objection to their availing themselves of them, it were folly indeed to hesitate for a moment about accepting them with the deepest gratitude.

6. "The question, then, which presented itself to my mind was this: Is there any political objection to giving a religious character to the educational measures which we may introduce among the Santhals? Mr. Dröse, in his enclosed letter, says, with terse bluntness, 'A man without education is a brute: a man without education and religion is a devil.' To this sentiment I fully and fearlessly subscribe. It would, perhaps, have been still more apposite to the case in point if the third conclusion had been drawn, viz. a man without either education or religion is both brute and devil; a text that might be fearfully illustrated by many an episode of the late rebellion" (of the Santhals in 1855).

After discussing the political bearings of the question, the Inspector proceeds.

8. "The case is widely different as regards the Santhals. From all accounts, these people have no religious system deserving the name, or that has any hold upon the affections of the people. If they have a religion at all, it is of the lowest possible character. Indeed, their faith seems to be little more than an implicit belief in the wildest assertion that a scoundrel may find it to be his interest to make to them. It were sufficient to show that such a religious system is both degrading to those who profess it, and that it contains none of those sanctions in which consist the *political* value of all religions, and which alone make a man differ in nature from a devil. But when, in addition to this, we have the late abundant melancholy proofs of its highly noxious and dangerous character as regards those brought into contact with its professors, it is not too much to assert that it becomes as much the duty and interest of Government to eradicate it, as it was (in a high degree it is true) to root out the peculiar religious pursuits of Thugs, and Dacoits, and Malays.

9. "No enlightened Government would think of taking steps to eradicate one religion without endeavouring to supply its

place by some other; and no *Christian* Government would for a moment think of teaching any other religion than Christianity. I therefore arrived at the conviction, that no scheme of education for the Santhal would be wise which did not include the teaching of the Christian religion.

10. "Having thus determined in my own mind that the best arrangement for the introduction of education among the Santhal tribes would be to entrust the operation to some Missionary of zeal and experience, Government providing the funds and superintendence only, it remained only for me to find a suitable candidate for the position.

11. "My thoughts were immediately directed to the Rev. E. Dröse, the Missionary of the Church Missionary Society at Bhagulpore. I knew that that gentleman had made frequent Missionary tours among the Santhals, and that he had already had several schools at work among them. I was acquainted with the high character which he bears for zeal and devotion, as well as for great ability; and I judged that if he could be induced to undertake the organization of the proposed scheme, there would be every probability of its meeting with success.

12. "In this belief I first had the pleasure of a long conversation with Mr. Dröse upon the occasion of my late visit to Bhagulpore; and finding that gentleman willing to undertake the charge, I subsequently addressed to him a demi-official letter, of which I have kept no copy, but which elicited the following reply, to which I request your careful attention.

13. "It appears to me to be peculiarly distinguished by prudence and common sense; and I can only hope that the plans which it proposes may meet with as full approbation from you as they do from me. I cannot but think Mr. Dröse most wise in not attempting to lay down a distinct plan of operation for the future, and for my own part can only recommend the Government to give him their full confidence, and lay no restrictions upon him. It will be for the Government

to consider whether this will be a wise policy, and to what extent they are prepared to furnish funds for the proposed operation.

. . . . . .

14. "You will observe that Mr. Dröse attaches one condition to his assent, viz. the consent of the Society whom he serves; but I trust there is little doubt that this would be readily granted."

The following are parts of Mr. Dröse's letter referred to in the Inspector's Report.

"Education, it seems to me, should rather tend to foster than to do away with the consciousness of the Santhal belonging to a separate race from his neighbours the Hindoos and Mohammedans. Thus it would seem the Santhal might be rendered a more attached subject of the existing Government, and more willing to embrace Christianity. He would, moreover, be more likely to keep to that truthfulness, fidelity, and simplicity for which even his oppressors praised him. Notwithstanding, education should also be made to call forth in the Santhal a desire for adopting such an orderly mode of life as would make him dread being at variance with his neighbours.

"To judge from my broken-up Schools among the Santhals, what success would be likely to attend educational labours among them would not be safe. The Santhals of 1857 will not be the Santhals of 1855. Grievances which the Santhal believes were allowed to press on him through the connivance of the rulers of the land, as well as also the brute-like demeanour seen by the Santhal from a white-faced rabble engaged about the railway works, must have tended much to lessen the almost superstitious regard the Santhal had for the white man's moral superiority—may even have called forth in him prejudice and dislike towards us; and I fear our efforts

for the education of this race will at first be viewed by the Santhal with suspicion. However, through kindliness, patience, and perseverance, we may succeed to gain his confidence, and see him availing himself of what we propose to him for his improvement. Yet, in compliance with your wish, I will in few lines give you an account of the working of my schools among the Santhals.

"About the end of the year 1853, I established a school near Godda at a village called Sarvanie, inhabited by about 300 Santhals and about as many Bengalees. That school was, in the commencement, attended with enough both of Bengalee and Santhal boys, often above thirty children being present. By and by, however, the Santhal boys left off coming to school; and on inquiry, I found that the Santhals would not send their children to school, because they found the Bengalee boys taught the Santhal boys to lie and steal, and often robbed them of valuable things about them. I then removed the school to a village quite near to that end of Sarounee where the Santhal population of the village lived. The Bengalee boys, finding the new school at Karmatand too far away, left off coming, and only Santhal boys from Karmatand and another village called Sundesmore attended this school. After some time, the Teachers were told by me not to admit any Bengalee boys, which greatly delighted the Santhals, and made them quite enthusiastic about their new school. They said if I was to establish schools for Santhals and Japanese [?] children only, the parents would everywhere, by the village Naizes, be induced to send their children to school. The attendance at this new school was, however, very irregular—sometimes only 4 or 5, and sometimes 25 or 30 boys being present.

"Yet this school continued to keep on; and about the end of 1854 several boys read and wrote pretty well in Hindui, and knew a number of Bible passages by heart. When the Santhal insurrection broke out, my teachers continued at their

posts until the Santhals of Karmatand and the neighbouring villages advised the teachers to leave for Bhagulpore, as they might be ill-treated by the Santhals coming from a distance. Some of them conducted our teachers far enough to enable them to pursue their way to Bhagulpore unmolested by insurgents. As regards the circumstance of the people at Karmatand and some neighbouring villages not having risen, I would ascribe that to the exertions of the teachers, who, advised by me, did all in their power to dissuade the people from joining the insurgents.

"The schools had not been working long enough to justify one to consider that circumstance as a result of education. Education alone, however, will not do that. The introduction of the religious element is indispensable.

"In order to bring in the aid of the religious element, Government can of course think only of the introduction of Christianity. The teaching of Christianity in the schools should not only be not interfered with, but enjoined; the embracing of Christianity not only protected, but encouraged. The Santhals, as well as the Paharees and other caste-free races in India, once christianized, would more secure the internal peace of the empire than all the war-machinery of Government. . . . . .

"In the above I have written what I have to say about the education of the Santhals. To take charge, however, of a work which may become very extensive, I am not at liberty unless permitted to do so by the Church Missionary Society."

Upon the receipt of the letters from the Educational Inspector of Bahar, the Director of Public Education in Bengal sought by a note, of which the following is a copy, a conference on the subject with the Calcutta Committee of the Church Missionary Society.

"MY DEAR SIR,—Allow me to send for your perusal the enclosed correspondence on the subject of establishing schools among the Santhals. If you think that the Society with which you are connected is likely to wish to avail itself of the opportunity of establishing schools among that people with Government aid, I shall be very happy to talk over the matter with you at any time. I think it probable that Government would give very liberal assistance for this purpose.

"Believe me,

"Your's very truly,

(Signed) "W. GORDON YOUNG.

"Office 88, Colingah,
March 13th."

"In a conversation with Mr. Young, I begged for information on the following points.

(Signed) "G. G. C."

Questions for Mr. G. Young—

1. "Will the Missionary be considered at liberty to adopt the line and the manner of teaching he seems best?

2. "Will the Government pay over to the Church Missionary Society Committee whatever grant may be agreed on as sufficient for the object, the Committee undertaking to see to its proper application?

3. "How would the grant be paid?

4. "If the Society sent out or appointed a Missionary for this special work, would the Government pay his salary, and through the Committee?

5. "If the plan roughly sketched by Mr. Dröse were adopted in chief part, would the 'superintending masters' mentioned by him be entirely under the control of the Church Missionary Society, and their *work* merely subject to the inspection of Government officers?

6. "Would those officers be *Christians*?

7. "About what is likely to be the greatest distance of any Santhal schools from Bhagulpore? and would they be all in our direction, or nearly so?

8. "Would the Government be likely to object to the Missionary using the school-houses for any other purposes than school instruction only?

9. "About how many schools would probably be required?"

"8, *Middleton Street,*
"*March 27th.*

"MY DEAR SIR,—I will answer your questions about Santhal education *seriatim,* merely promising that the views thus expressed are my own; that although I *believe* them to be also those of the Government, they must not be considered as in any way binding or pledging the Government to any particular course of action.

"To your first question I would reply, that so long as the Government is satisfied that an amount of sound secular instruction is imparted commensurate with the amount of public money spent, the Missionaries may give any further instruction they please in the schools, and in what way they please.

"There would, I think, be no objection to the proposal contained in question No. 2, provided, of course, the Government has a general idea beforehand as to how the money is to be spent, and its officers are allowed to satisfy themselves by inspection, &c., how it is at any time actually being spent.

"With reference to the above, an answer to Question 3 seems unnecessary.

"Question 4. There *might,* though I am not prepared to say certainly that there *would,* be an objection to Government paying the salary of a professed and professional Missionary; but Government will be willing to pay the salary of any one required to superintend secular education.

"To the 5th Question, Yes.

"To the 6th I should say, if possible, Yes; and in all probability arrangements might be made, either in the Educational Department itself, or with the aid of Mr. Stainforth's Government assistants, so as to have the Government schools inspected, whenever necessary, by Christians, and not by Native Inspectors.

"To Questions 7 and 9 it is difficult to give answers without first consulting the Commissioner of the Santhal country, Mr. Stainforth. His recommendations, as well as the suggestions of the Church Missionary Society, would no doubt guide the Government in selecting the localities for schools.

"To Question 8 I should say, Probably not, if used for other purposes only out of school hours.

"On the whole, the general principle that I should wish to see adopted would be this—That the Government would pay (in the form of salaries and in any other way) all that is absolutely necessary for imparting a sound secular (including, of course, moral) education to the Santhals: that the Missionaries would superintend and direct this expenditure, at the same time doing or spending any thing more that they pleased on their own account.

"Believe me,

"Your's very truly,

(Signed) "W. GORDON YOUNG."

The subject having been fully considered, a Minute, explanatory of the scheme, was submitted to the Government of India by the Director of Public Instruction, and the decision of Government was communicated in the following terms—

"The Governor-General in Council, viewing the proposed measure as a grant-in-aid to a Missionary body for the secular education of an uncivilized tribe, considers it entirely in accordance with the views expressed in the Honorable Court's

Despatch of the 19th of July 1854, and differing in degree only, not in kind, from the grant already made to individual Missionaries for like purposes, with the Honorable Court's full approbation and sanction.

"His Lordship in Council is of opinion, that if the Church Missionary Society, or if any respectable person, or body of persons, undertake to establish good schools among the Santhals, the Government is bound to render very liberal assistance, in proportion to the extent to which the work may be carried, subject only to the inspection of the officers of the Education Department, and upon the condition that the Government in no way interferes with the religious instruction given, and that the expense of such instruction is borne by those who impart it.

"The special aid required for building schools and providing sites for them, as well as for obtaining the services of qualified secular teachers from England, seems to the Governor-General in Council quite proper, and the monthly allowance not exceeding 1000 rupees, which it is proposed in the first instance to assign for teachers, is probably no more than sufficient for the purpose in view.

"His Lordship in Council accordingly sanctions the proposed scheme as a wise and perfectly legitimate application of the principle of Grants-in-aid, and authorizes the Lieut.-Governor to carry it out forthwith.

"I have, &c.,

(Signed) "CECIL BEADON,

"Secretary to the Government of India.

"*Council Chamber, 28th Nov.* 1856."

The scheme thus sanctioned was substantially that on which all Grants-in-aid are made to Mission Schools, viz. the Government contributes aid for the secular teaching, and the Missionary Societies pay for the religious teaching; nor is there

any meaning in the Grant-in-aid system, upon any other arrangement.

To the Government of Bengal the plan was communicated by a letter from C. Beadon, Esq., Chief Secretary to the Government of India, to C. Buckland, Esq., Junior Secretary.

"Para. 1.—I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, No. 1304, dated 27th October last, forwarding, for the favourable consideration of the Government of India, with the Lieut.-Governor's strong recommendation, a scheme for the education of the Santhals through the agency of the Church Missionary Society.

"The outline of the scheme, as detailed in the Minute of the Secretary of the Society, is as follows."

(The scheme is then given as above.)

Upon the faith of these proceedings, immediate arrangements seem to have been made by Mr. Dröse, in concert with the local authorities, to carry into effect the scheme for establishing schools on the footing and terms agreed upon. Under date 14th May 1857, Mr. Dröse reported his progress in a communication from which the following passages are taken, and by which an opinion may be formed of the probable eventual success of the scheme.

From a place to which Mr. Yule, the Commissioner, had directed his attention—

"The people here dress better than about Bhalka, yet seem to be worse off. There is not much of cattle to be seen in this neighbourhood, no pigs, very few fowls, and many people look emaciated. There are a number of Santhals here, who look like low-caste Hindoos more than Santhals. I was

surprised to find the Santhals here on such very good terms with the hill people. In this place the Santhals drink most excessively, look downcast, and are very irritable. They have suffered much in consequence of the late rising. Here many Santhals, driven in by the troops, were killed; as also in this very neighbourhood many a Hindoo and Bengalee was made the victim of long suppressed Santhal revenge. The skulls and bones of the slain are still seen scattered about everywhere. The men here look altogether as if they could not be trusted. Hindu Banyas again begin to settle here. It is to be hoped they will not be overdoing and cheating the Santhals. Here about live just the kind of men who seem to be likely to follow any spirited fellow who would promise them another feast of revenge on Hindoo traders.

"The Mangha of the village Sulka, a very fair and shrewd-looking fellow, was the first to countenance the establishing of a school in that neighbourhood. He went with me into the adjacent villages, and proved of much service in talking the timid and suspicious out of their doubts and fears about having schools. Through his intervention, the Pergunnah also (head of a number of Manghees) was got over to declare himself in favour of schools, and it was soon agreed that a school should be established at Bhalka. About the middle of March a school was commenced with four boys, under a Sitrangie, put up near my tent. The number of boys increased soon to twenty; and when the school-house was ready, there were twenty-four boys, and several adults, to occupy the same during school hours.

"The people were plainly told that the object of their schools was not only to teach their children to read and to write, and to keep accounts, but especially also to teach them the knowledge of the great true Thakur (Lord), who would never deceive them with false promises as their late Thakur [the fanatical prophet who had excited the recent insurrection] had done. They expressed themselves quite satisfied with

having their children thus instructed, and said they themselves also would learn all about the great and true God."

From another spot—

"In establishing a school here I found no difficulty. Previous to my going there, I sent some of my people with Santhals from Bhalka and Sunder, more to tell what had been done for these villages. Also the Munga of Bhalka went over of his own accord, in order to talk with the Mungas of Dhamni and the adjacent villages. On my arrival, I found a school begun; and before I left the place, that is, after ten days' stay there, the school numbered nineteen boys in regular attendance."

From another place.

"Soon after my arrival among the people of the neighbourhood, the Mungas of some eight villages came in a body, to request me to fix for a school on any spot I chose. Every one would be happy to give for the school the needful patch of ground, and other assistance. I told the people I should fix on the most central village here: this fully satisfied them. I went then round to the several villages, and fixed on Choondhi. The Munga of that place, a fine tall old man, seemed highly delighted, and told me that his village had also been thought of as best for a school by all his brother Mungas. He offered at once a patch of ground, with a house on it, and thus the school could be begun at once. Before the number of boys will be too large to be accommodated in this house, the school-house will be built.

"Many having already begun, and having also no more *trustworthy* teachers available, I thought best to leave off establishing schools for this season.

"It is surprising to see how eager these people are to have their children instructed, and how readily they fall in with the idea of having one day the same God to worship which their rulers worship. The school-boys are everywhere, even before they know how to read, made to learn by heart the

Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and Bible passages; and the parents, when present, repeat all these together with their children. There is not the slightest fear of the Santhals ever objecting to the teaching of Christianity, unless they are taught to do so by Hindoos and Mahommedans. This, however, can be obviated by a judicious selection of teachers.

"It will be seen from the above that the difficulty lies, not in the inducing the Santhals to send their children to school, but that the difficulty lies in finding suitable teachers.

"There are Gurus and Lalas to be had plenty everywhere in the Santhal country, where Bunyas and Mahajans have settled. Any man that has failed in shopkeeping, or wants to set himself up for shopkeeping, will be eager to get the post of a Schoolmaster. But to consign to such hands the education of a race so simple and eager for instruction would be altogether thwarting the philanthropic intentions of Government. The common Hindoo teachers will, in the first place, make his pupils liars, as he himself is one: he will be more anxious to get children of his own people into the school, than the children of the Santhals, and in school, of course, more anxious to bring on those of his own creed. I have made this remark with a view to discourage the Government from getting up schools among the Santhals, besides the Mission Schools. Mr. Yule, our Commissioner, has established a school in Barasat, and I hope this will remain the only heathen school supported by Government.

"The Santhals everywhere, young and old, have expressed their willingness to be taught the Christian religion. They say it is the religion of their rulers, and much better than the religion of the Diggus (*viz.* troublers), as Hindoos and Mohammetans are invariably called by the Santhals. Why, then, should a Christian Government set up heathen schools, that is, schools where a heathen teacher, without Christian supervision, is allowed to influence the minds of the children?"

At this stage of the experiment, when a vigorous commencement, under the most auspicious circumstances, gave promise of the eventual success of the scheme, which had been so well considered and deliberately adopted, the following letter was received by the Calcutta Committee of the Society, notifying that under orders from the Court of Directors the scheme agreed upon, and actually in operation, was disapproved of by the Court, and "will, therefore, not take effect."

"*From the Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal.*

"*To Rev. G. G. Cuthbert, Secretary Church Missionary Society.*

(*General Education.*) "*Dated Fort William, 7th Oct.* 1857.

"SIR,—I am directed by the Lieut.-Governor to transmit, for the information of the Church Missionary Society, the accompanying copy of a letter from the officiating Under-Secretary to the Governor of India in the Home Department, No. 1960, dated the 22d ultimo, giving cover to a Despatch from the Honorable the Court of Directors, disapproving of the scheme sanctioned by the Government in November last for the education of the Santhal Pergunnahs, through the agency of the Church Missionary Society. The proposed arrangement will therefore not take effect.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your most obedient Servant,

(Signed) "C. BUCKLAND,

"Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal."

THE

THOUGHTS

OF A

NATIVE OF NORTHERN INDIA

ON

THE REBELLION,

ITS

CAUSES AND REMEDIES.

WITH A PREFACE.

pht. 5

LONDON:

W. H. DALTON, 29, COCKSPUR STREET.

1858.

[*Price One Shilling.*]

PREFACE.

THE following paper was prepared at the request of a well known officer in the North-Western Provinces, and is published, with the consent of the writer, at the request of several others who are well qualified to judge of its value. It was not written by any member of that race of Bengali Baboos, whose convictions constantly condemn their conduct, and to whom the friends of India look in vain for an example and for efforts calculated to elevate their countrymen; but by a man of a very different stamp in the North-Western Provinces, a native gentleman of the highest character, who has long been distinguished by well directed zeal for the public welfare. It is published precisely as he wrote it, without any correction of grammar or style, or the erasure of any objectionable expression. The writer is a man of loyalty, benevolence, and ability, and represents a class who are fairly entitled to be heard at a time when their country is attracting so much attention, and when so many other classes, both in India and in England, are submitting their views to the consideration of Parliament.

Unfortunately it has hitherto been customary to legislate for India without due enquiry. Once in twenty years, prior to the renewal of a Charter, each House of Parliament has been wont to appoint a Committee on Indian affairs, and much important information has thus been obtained. But, for the most part, no cognizance has been taken of the sentiments of the population of India; or, some general, and probably totally erroneous conclusions have been formed from the petitions of bodies like the British Indian Association, which represent the mind of the people as much the Chamber of Commerce in Liverpool represents the feelings of the Agricultural interest, or the Smithfield Cattle Club represents the opinions of the Factory men of Manchester. To the only practicable mode of ascertaining, fairly and fully, the real condition and the sentiments of the people at large, (the appointment of a Royal Commission,) there has always been a firm and unconquerable opposition. Even so lately as the end of 1856, when the Calcutta Missionaries represented the anomalous and lamentable condition of the peasantry of Bengal, and prayed for a Commission of Enquiry, the Government of India rejected the prayer, and in June, 1857 the House of Commons, on the debate on Mr. Kinnaird's motion in support of the Missionaries' petition, plainly indicated its aversion to this necessary measure. But now, when it may be fairly assumed that the British Parliament will no longer believe that all is known that need be known, and that all has been

done that need be done, there is good reason to hope that the necessity for full enquiry will be acknowledged, and that the necessity for a Royal Commission will be acknowledged too.

There are many points in the following Dialogue which deserve much consideration. Among these is the notice of the peculiarities of the Oriental mind. If these be overlooked, measures will be adopted that are altogether unsuited to India; and other measures will be condemned, simply because they are unsuited to England, while they may be precisely the sort of measures requisite for this population. Much ridicule, for instance, was cast on the pomp with which Lord Ellenborough reviewed the Cabul Army—the triumphal arch, the sweetmeats, and the like—and yet, there can be no doubt that this kind of child's play is exactly the sort of thing which the native understands, and which secures his attachment. In like manner with the Proclamation respecting the Gates of Somnath. Perhaps there are few persons who will now deny, that party-spirit rather than religious zeal detected patronage of idolatry in that "song of triumph" on the restoration of the symbols of former grandeur, which for so many centuries had remained the trophies of the invader's victory in a foreign land. Judging by our plain English taste, which admires, most of all, the Dispatch which narrated the destruction of so many ships "as per margin," the inflated address to Brothers and Friends, seemed diffuse and extravagant; but in dealing with a people among whom there are hereditary feuds based on some trifling personal indignity, a century or more ago; in which a large part of life is spent in the ceremonies and refinements of caste; and whose languages teem with lofty terms of flattery and courtesy, our severe taste must be out of place, as truly as our winter clothing in India's month of May.

We have also to remember that we are dealing with a people who are not yet released from patriarchal habits; who look for summary justice to him that sitteth in the gate; and who are wholly unprepared for representative institutions. They require a paternal government.

On the other hand, we have to consider the claims and the interests of the European community in India, as the supporters of our power, and the necessary agents of civilization.

The writer of this Dialogue thinks that the European must mix more freely with the people, as Tod did, and others of the past generation. Others will doubt the possibility, at present, of this junction. The Englishman in India in 1857, has advanced in many things beyond the Englishman of seventy years ago; and there are few natives of India who have advanced at all. There is little community of ideas; none of family habits, or of domestic arrangements; there can be no ties of kindred; and the friendship between men who are thus severed cannot be really intimate and confidential. There is also another and wider difference. The Englishman is a Christian, and in many cases is an earnest Christian, or hopes to become so. The Native worships Kali and Krishna, or receives with reverence the

bloody and cruel traditions of the Mussulman Elders. If there be community of feeling between such an Englishman and such a Native, it cannot extend far, unless the Englishman is dragged down to the lower level, or the native is raised to the higher. The more closely they are associated, the keener must be the consciousness of imperfect sympathy.

Nor is the case much better with the educated Native, whose confidence in his religion is destroyed. He no longer believes, he cannot believe, either its false science or its mythology, but he will not advance onwards to a positive and influential belief in the One true God and Jesus Christ whom He has sent. If he learns any truth, he holds that truth in unrighteousness. He will not submit to its power. He will persist in maintaining Caste, supporting Brahmans, and maintaining licentious or foolish festivals of idolatrous worship. In morals he exhibits no higher standard than many of the more stedfast Hindus.

There must then be a change on the one side or the other, before there can be really a satisfactory affinity between the Englishman and the Native; and the expectation of securing the affections of the people by this intimacy and alliance, while each remains as he is, must be abandoned.

This writer is equally mistaken as to Caste. It is true that it ramifies and permeates Native Society, and that it constitutes a large part of the religion of the Hindu population. It is said that we must maintain it; that the people are more sensitive on this point than on any other; that they will resent encroachments and indignities at all hazards, and so on. Still, the path of duty is here sufficiently obvious. Caste is based on a palpably false theory of the Creation of Man. It is a system manifestly repugnant to British jurisprudence. It is hostile to the interests of the great body of the people. What then? Is its maintenance, by our recognition of it, an essential condition of our security? Must we indeed perpetuate it or lose the Empire? It is believed that no apprehension of danger need attend a calm and tolerant policy, which simply leaves Caste to be dealt with by the people among themselves, voluntarily, like Freemasonry, but denies it all support, encouragement, or countenance. The plain duty of England, before all things, is Faithfulness to Truth. We cannot, as Christian men, admit that God did create four distinct races of human beings, and that the highest are divine and the lowest are impure. Nor can we, with common self-respect or fidelity to God's revelation, admit that we ourselves are not made "of one blood" with the Brahmans.

What then remains? Is India to be placed in peril? Certainly not. No real Christian will believe that it is impossible to frame a policy which shall combine with a complete non-recognition of Caste, such wisdom, justice, firmness, strength, and material benefits, as will secure the attachment of the people, increase and develope the energy of the European community, and bring down alike on the rulers and the country, the Divine blessing.

Let the Christian obligation to treat Caste as a thing which we can no more recognize than we can recognize the worship of Krishna, be plainly acknowledged. Let us educate in earnest: not, as hitherto, in a partial inadequate manner. Let our power be known and seen, for the assurance of the well affected, and the discouragement of the lawless and disobedient. Let us have cheap justice with a natural system of procedure, and a public administration of simple form and speedy action, including the development of the resources of the country; let the Christian Church give herself to the great task of evangelizing India with the energy of faith and hope; and the result will be, the establishment of British authority on firm foundations, and the gradual amelioration of the condition of the people, the overthrow of error, and spread of light and truth. Any other policy will end in speedy disappointment. God will not bless it; "the root will be rottenness and the blossom will fly up as dust." We may purpose to keep people in ignorance; we may discourage railways and trade; we may establish a military despotism; we may fetter the Press, patronize Caste, and discountenance Christian Missions. This policy has been avowed by Lord Ellenborough and others, and in a great measure it has been the traditionary Indian policy. But it cannot prosper. We may not discover precisely the spot where trouble will arise, but come it will, and at last we shall either lose the country, or be driven to govern it on Christian principles for the glory of God in its final conversion to Christianity.

M. W.

Calcutta, January 12*th* 1858.

To H. C. T. Esq.

Dear Sir,

I beg to enclose herewith the Memo. which I had promised yesterday. I hope you will be kind enough to keep it quite secret, because if it falls into any other hand, it may do me a deal of harm, and throw me into scrape. You will find there, I dare say, many nonsensical thoughts, foolish ideas, harsh words, audacious sentences, and opinions quite contrary to yours; but you know, Sir, that I wrote it for Mr. ————, and from him I expect forgiveness for every fault except falsehood, which is unpardonable.—He was anxious to know my impression, and I wrote only to let him know it.

As to your question of yesterday's that "what is now to be done," it is difficult to answer without knowing the man through whom it is to be done. In this country much depends on the disposition and qualification of the person who is to do, than on the nature of the work to be done. In England you have only to pass good acts and draw good rules, and people will take upon themselves to see that they are worked in right way and for their benefit by the local authorities; but here the case is otherwise, the best regulations can be turned into a source of worst oppression by an unscrupulous and careless magistrate; and if you give us a good magistrate, he can keep us happy without any regulation at all: Panjab owes its happiness more to Sir J. Lawrence and Messrs. Montgomery and McLeod than to any system or regulation. Oudh was placed under the same system, but not under the same officers, and it did not succeed. Remove them from the Panjab and fill up their places by the gentlemen whom I name, none of them receive at present less

than 2,000 Rupees per mensem, and hang me, Sir, if Panjab does not go to pieces before the earth has completed its annual circuit, and another Guru Gobind Sing does not appear among the Sikhs before long. Colonel Sutherland asked the Government if they wanted the assistance of a Lakh of Rajputs, which he could easily furnish, at the time of the Cabul disaster, and now they cannot suppress the little Jodhpur rebellion without more European soldiers. I do not know how it is that General Outram—the acknowledged Hero of the "True Heroism," who reconciled the Bheels, could not keep Mán Sing to his faith; either he is changed or some inexplicable blunder has been committed. But does the Government know why the Azimgurh Regiment got suspicious, why it allowed the treasure to depart and then changed its mind and retook it; why the Palwárs became exasperated, and why they are now so desperately fighting; and a hundred other things—though appearing trifles but pregnant with mighty consequences—natives have naturally no moral courage to speak the truth, their religion allows them to speak lies, but at the same time, I am afraid, there are very few men in the world who are always prepared to hear and love the truth. A man may get Khilluts for speaking lies, but may lose his life if he speaks the truth.

The natives have lost confidence, and England is wrathful, the country will shortly be deluged with European soldiers, and the Government has already assumed the sternest tone possible, the disaffection will increase and the country will doubtless suffer. —Though for a time India may become again tranquil, like some Volcano to heave its sighs only in its bosom and burst again with redoubled fury.

Can a Government be considered safe or strong when its subjects are discontented and not happy?

I had many a time thought of the possibility of a mutiny in the army—a foreign European invasion and internal disaffection and combination. though I had never for a moment expected such a catastrophe in my lifetime. The first of these, however,

we have already borne, and it is the duty of the Government to provide against the latter.

If the Government are determined to irritate the people and turn every hand and heart desperately against them, I do not think that even three hundred thousand European soldiers will ever be able to keep India *quiet;* though fifty thousand of them are quite sufficient to turn it into a perfect desert.

But man proposes and God disposes; nothing yet is impossible; England may yet be able to send out some statesman, who would make the whole native population again a set of most loyal subjects by one stroke of his pen. Sir C. Napier a mere soldier when appointed Governor of Sindh was petitioned by the Balúchis against the officers shooting peacocks, his order was this: If officers will shoot peacocks, Balúchis will shoot officers; and Balúchis remained as loyal to him as English. He fought like a hero and he governed also like a hero. We do not want acts and legislators but a *just* and energetic man of an independent mind like the hero of Mianee.—Let a magistrate be dismissed for his notorious unpopularity with the people and the whole thing will mend of itself. Sir J. Lawrence would never promote a magistrate whom he knows to be unpopular with his people.

As for education I beg to inform you that it is my determined decision that if any thing is to benefit this country—people as well as the Government—it is education, I mean education carried on upon religious principles. Whether I live on the bounty of the Government or my private resources, whether I have large districts under me or only a few boys of my relations, I have made it the work of my life and hope assistance from above.

They may abolish education, the prospects of India may become gloomy for a time, but I am quite sure that it is all for its good and for the God's glory. When the Mahrattás devastated the country, no one could foresee that it would end in the establishment of such a beneficent Government as the British. Nor when the barbarians sacked Rome any one could foretell

that the death of that empire will give birth to so many noble powers who hold now Europe.

Though it is difficult to answer that question "what is now to be done?" but I may venture to say so much, that if any thing is to be done the first of all ought to be to let the people FEEL that Government will protect the innocent as certainly as they will punish the guilty, and no single innocent person will be allowed to suffer even if the safety of the empire be at stake; had this point been kept in view from the first, the revolt which was purely military would not have assumed such an aspect.

I have the honour to be,

Dear Sir,

Your most humble and obedt. Servant,

MEMO.

ON THE CAUSES

AND

REMEDIES OF THE REBELLION.

In the form of a Dialogue between an European and a Native.

European.—What do you think of the rebellion and its causes? do you think that Russians or Persians had any thing to do with it?

Native.—What a strange idea! How on earth the Russians and Persians could communicate and concert plans with such a vast number of natives, as they are, without the fact being brought to the notice of the Government. Had Russians or Persians any hand in the matter they would have marched their army by this time in Affghanistan. The Europeans never like to part with their own peculiar ideas—ideas formed in Europe—by which they want to govern this country, and decide every question howsoever grave or of whatsoever nature it may be—they see and know so little of the natives that it is no wonder if they have no notion of the ideas of the natives. They think that the natives will do the same here, what they would do in England.

E.—Did not those "Chapátees" mean something?

N.—They were mere "Chalawás" to stop the progress of some disease, as Captain Erskine wrote, and never a political move as many of your countrymen think.

E.—But surely the king of Delhi is implicated in the matter.

N.—He may be—He is a king and he might have extended

his hand or his mind to grasp the kingdom. The wish to become an independent king is a natural one. But was it ever really in the power of the pauper king of Delhi to alienate the Bengal army from the British Government? If it was, could he get a better opportunity to realize his wishes than at the time of Cabul disaster or the Mudhki and Pheru Battles?

E.—But then was he not a passive observer of all this mischief which happened to us in Delhi?

N.—And what else he could be; but for that you cannot lay the cause of rebellion to his doors. He had no moral courage to risk his life in trying his best to stop the horrid cruelties perpetrated by the mutineers in the precincts of his palace and under his very eyes, and perhaps most likely the goddess Hope gave him a gleam at that time of the restoration of his lost empire, but I can never for a moment acknowledge him to be the cause or the original instigator and plotter of this rebellion.

E.—And are you then an advocate of the continuance of the pension to that miscreant?

N.—By no means—It was a folly from the first to allow him a place in the same Dewánkhás from which his forefathers had ruled an Empire—and to allow the Mahárájas to strike coins in his name up to this period. I do not object to pension, but he ought to have received it in Australia or New Zealand. To allow him to remain in Delhi was just as to allow a man to play with fire-arms in the powder Magazine. The sooner the name of Timur is now forgotten the better.

E.—But the Ex-King of Lucknow?

N.—And do you think Sir, seriously that a man would plot against the Government when his mother, brother and son are in England; a man who left voluntarily his own kingdom, and preferred to live as a common subject in the heart of Calcutta? It is possible that he began to stir himself when he heard of the disaffection of the army so as not to let this golden opportunity slip from his hand to retake his kingdom, or perhaps his courtiers

to show their zeal and anxiety, might have been trying since the first, one foolish act or the other to secure his restoration; but to alienate the whole Bengal army from the British Government, I think, was as much out of his power as to alienate that of Great Britain is out of mine?

E.—They say papers have been seized which throw great suspicions on the Ex-King of Oudh.

N.—That I do not know, but I have very little faith in the papers. They have not however yet been made public.

E.—Well then, what is the cause of this national rebellion and of the revolt of the people? The Government cannot find it, nor the people in England can find it.

N.—Nor they will ever find it, no one can see the defects of his own face with his own eyes. The Government have searched for the cause of the rebellion in the heavens and the earth, but never in themselves, or most likely having found it in themselves now, do not like to confess it. The gagging Act has perhaps been passed to prevent the discovery and leave the Home authorities in quite darkness about it. But please, Sir, do not call it a "national rebellion," it is a pure military revolt.

E.—But have not the villagers of many districts taken themselves to plunder and murder, and have not the Nawábs of Bareli and Fatahgarh and this vile Nanhá and treacherous Mansing raised the standard of rebellion against us?

N.—Yes; but only when they found the Government weak and without an army, in fact ceasing to exist. If there be no army, no police, in fact no Government in England, what will be the consequence? will there be no riot? will the people not act on the proverb "might is right," and will they not take law in their own hands? and here when the Government cannot control its own army, when they are let loose like so many wild wolves and the people are left at their mercy, what else can you expect from a people strongly suspicious of the intentions of the Government to take their caste. The Government, which though the best we can have, has made itself notoriously unpopular

through the ignorance and arrogance of many individuals who are entrusted to carry out its well meant designs.

E.—But that is the question, what did induce the blackguards, the sepoys to revolt ?

N.—The Cartridge ! ! The Cartridge ! ! !

E.—Never ! Never ! !

N.—It is indeed, Sir : First pray answer me a few questions, and then I will tell you the history of revolt and its progress. Pray, sir, answer me, were not some greased cartridges imported from England ? were not some new ones made and greased in the Fort William ? Were they not issued to some of the sepoys ? if you say not, then how it is that some of the newspapers to prove that the sepoys had no real prejudice against those Cartridges brought prominently forward the fact that they fired their guns loaded with the same greased Cartridges which are said to be so obnoxious to their feelings, against their officers ? Was not the Government resolved at one time to force these cartridges upon the sepoys, and were not some of the officers very anxious to exhibit their zeal in removing the objections of the sepoys against these infernal cartridges. If not, then why a change was made in the Drill about cutting the cartridges with teeth, and why the "*Friend of India*" wrote such thundering articles at the time. He wrote, if my memory does not fail, that in some of the stations the officers had succeeded (applauding the officers of course) in introducing the greased cartridges in their Regiments, and they ought to be, and should be, introduced under the loaded guns.

E.—I never recollect such sentences in the *Friend.*

N.—I will not bind myself for the exact words, because I have got no file of the paper with me. I refer you to the papers themselves.

E.—But the *Friend of India* was very foolish. The Government stopped the greased cartridges as soon as the objections of the sepoys was brought to their notice. Did you not see the proclamation issued by the Military Secretary ?

N.—Ah Yes! but the proclamation was not issued till Delhi was in the hands of the rebels; and recollect, Sir, that the intention of the Government to force the greased cartridges or in the native words, to take the caste, was impressed on the minds of the people through the length and breadth of the country, to be as a fact, beyond doubt, with the report of the disbandment of the 17th (?) I mean the Berhampur Regiment—Had the proclamation been issued before the disbandment of that Regiment, most probably it would have checked the progress of mutiny.

E.—And what you mean by the history of rebellion and its progress?

N.—Suppose, Sir, that the greased cartridges were imported from England and stored in the Fort and the new ones prepared there. Would not the sepoys on guard in the Fort observe the fat brought for the purpose and rubbed on the cartridges?—Nay, I hear they were taunted by the contractors of the fat or the cognizant parties. They of course related the whole matter to their comrades in the line. Native soldiers cannot be expected to comprehend at once the principles on which the Enfield rifles have been made, and the necessity of applying grease; they took it doubtless as a dodge to take their caste, and resolved not to accept these cartridges at any risk. The natives prefer losing life to the loss of caste, an out-caste in this country is worse than dead. It is true that the cartridges issued to the Berhampur Regiment were not greased, but their suspicion was so strong, and aggravated by the unusual colour of the paper with which unfortunately those cartridges were made, that in my humble opinion, it was the duty of the commanding officer, by whatever means possible to remove that suspicion, instead of contenting himself by ordering the native officers to tell the sepoys that the cartridges were not greased, and if they would reject them in the morning, when they were to be distributed by the English officers, they should be subjected to Court Martial. The sepoys did not know what to do, it was late in night, and they could not come to any conclusion; they rushed to arms in despair, but

again laid them down when they were ordered to do so by the commanding officer. The Bengal Army could not believe that a Regiment of Native Infantry will take up arms against the East India Company on any other ground less than the fear of losing caste, nor they could believe that the Government should acquiesce in losing such a fine Regiment unless they are determined to take the caste of the sepoys at whatever cost it may be. The Sowars in Meerut could not bear to see their comrades laid in irons for a fault which was rather a virtue or binding duty in their eyes. They released the other prisoners with their comrades only to create a confusion and facilitate their escape, and thus it became a signal for all the Regiments and Risalas to mutiny.

E.—But why some of them waited so long and did not throw off the mask till so late as even September or October?

N.—I told you, Sir, that it was not a concerted plan. Many of them had till late hopes that the Government would feel fully satisfied by disbanding the Regiments already gone, but now they are daily convinced that the Government only waits the arrival of the European soldiers to annihilate and get rid of the Bengal army by disarming them or blowing them up by the cannons; it is out of my power to give you all the local causes or the blunders of the authorities which actuated each Regiment to rebel at its own way and its own time.

E.—But what on earth could induce the sepoys to murder their officers and the innocent women and children?

N.—Ay! that was the binding cord between the ringleaders and the whole Regiment, as soon as a few men consulted and agreed to rebel, they shot their officers to make the whole Regiment proclaimed by the Government as that of mutineers, and thereby secure the services of all their comrades without the least fear of any of them betraying their ringleaders and going over to the Government or dispersing and taking the road to their homes. Besides that to kill their officers, to plunder treasuries, and to burn Cutcherries, was in their opinion a sure

passport and the best certificate to procure them employment with much higher salaries in the services of the king of Delhi or Lucknow. The fools also thought it possible to exterminate the English race, and hoped that when there would be no English, the rájás will rise simultaneously and take possession of the country and engage their services on the highest salaries imaginable.

E.—You said "suspicious." I do not think the people have any reason to suspect the motives of the Government. The Government never wishes to interfere in the least way with their caste or prejudices, proclamations after proclamations have been issued to that effect and why the people do not read them?

N.—They read them, but do not believe them, simply because they find the acts of the Government contrary to their words. I know it is not the intention of the Government, yet the mischief is done, through the ignorance of their officers. Do you not, Sir, remember the row, which I hear, was made in Benares, the seat of Hindú religion, the resort of the pilgrims from the four quarters of India, at the time of introducing the messing system in the jail of Benares, and yet it was introduced. The people of the town met publicly and secretly to discuss the question, they insulted the magistrate openly and contemned the police, yet the system was introduced. The sowars were brought down from Sultanpoor and hundreds of the citizens of Benares were sent to jail. What would have been the consequence, had the same system been introduced at the time by the commanding officers in their regiments? nothing more or less than brought by these infernal cartridges. It is a fact worthy of being sifted by a historian. Was it not a straw to show the course of the wind? Yet the Government did not heed it. Hundreds of other acts, too numerous to relate, have been committed in this way by the officers of the Government which convinced the people beyond doubt that it was the intention of the Government to take their caste. Many of these acts were totally un-

called for, and without the least gain to the Government or anybody.

E.—And are you an advocate of re-establishment of the rites of "suttee" and infanticide?

N.—This is the way, Sir, that the Editors of the Newspapers blend the matters together. The abolishment of "Suttee" and Infanticide, was a deed in which even a boy clearly saw the advantage to be gained, without any loss to anybody, and every one applauded the Government, but in messing system and the works like that, no one can see what gain could be derived, except the loss of caste (if it can be called any gain), which is so dear and valuable to the natives.

E.—I thought from the first that it was very foolish in the Government to give even a pretence to the people to suspect its motive, as far as it was concerned with the interference in their religion: unbounded toleration to the Missionaries, unchecked distribution of religious tracts, indiscriminate zeal of many of the Government officers in promoting the cause of Missions and openly assisting the Missionaries, and the Government connection with the Missionary Schools, are no doubt much to be deplored.

N.—Here you and many of your countrymen, Sir, commit a serious mistake. No European can form, though they ought to form, a correct idea of the difference between the prejudices of caste and those of religion. Give a couple of Goldmohurs to a Pandit, and he will cheerfully compose a book in refutation of his own religion; but give him a glass of water, openly touched by you, even through the medium of a stick, hundred feet long, and he will not drink it, though you offer him a thousand Goldmohurs! I say "openly" because secretly perhaps he may not have objection to do any thing either to please you or satiate his own passions. Few nations on earth are so indifferent to religion as the Hindús are. Their religion has undergone mightier and more numerous changes than that of Europe. It is absurd to think that the English are hated by the Hindús on account

of their religion: for the Mahomedans believe the shortest way to go to Heaven, to be, to cut the throat of a Hindu, to demolish a sacred temple, or kill a cow in the day of "Id," yet they are worshipped by the Hindús. Look to Gházi Myán and a hundred other Pírs and Fakírs. The Mahomedans too do not hate the English solely for their religion, because the Bible is more honoured in the Korán than the Korán itself, and Moses and Jesus not less than Mahomed, yet their hatred towards Christians (the people of the book) is more inveterate than towards the idolatrous and Mushrik Hindús. If the English believe in the mission of Mahomed or the sacredness of the Vedas without any change in their manners, do you think that they would acquire any popularity among the natives? It is not religion but the want of religion which has brought so much evil to this country. The people know that the Government is a Christian one, let it act openly as a true Christian: the people will never feel themselves disappointed, they will only admire it. Who can detest "religion?" It is the order of their own 'Shástars' that every man is to revere his own religion. You may have a thousand Missionaries to preach, and another thousand as masters of the schools at the expense of the Government, or distribute a thousand Bibles at the hands of the Governor General. The people will not murmur out a single syllable, though they may laugh and jeer; but take care that you do not interfere with their caste, you do not force them to eat the food cooked by another in the jails; or thrust grease down their throats with the cartridges made by Europeans. I do not think such acts have any thing to do with the Christian religion.

E.—But would you like to perpetuate the system of caste which is such a great curse to India?

N.—By no means—But the teeth fall off themselves in old age though it is painful to extract them in youth. Difference of caste must vanish with many other offsprings of folly and ignorance when its proper time comes. To try to exterminate it now, must end in bloodshed.

E.—What bloodshed! the sooner such a nation is exterminated the better, the cruelties of Nánhá have made the Indians an everlasting stain on the human character, let them be gone and make room for a better race as you know the English are; to talk of civilization to natives is to throw pearls before swine.

N.—Are you, Sir, serious? Would you, Sir, exterminate a hundred and fifty millions of human beings, one-sixth of the population of the world; perhaps equal in number to them who were destroyed in the flood by the Almighty wrath, you cannot make them slaves even, and keep them under the yoke of servitude. The Moguls tried to do that for seven hundred years, but the moment they grew weak to hold their sceptre, the Marathás, the Játs and the Sikhs, whom they had never dreamt of before, sprung to wrest it from their hands, you may not even allow the natives to surpass the English, as long as they are English, in the science of war and especially in the practice of Artillery, but you cannot exclude from the pale of possibility a foreign invasion. I mean an invasion of some European power. In what a jeopardy will not the Government of India fall with a strong enemy out and a disaffected people in. Even if you exterminate the natives and colonize the country with your countrymen, it may become another America, another rival, and another source of trouble, nay a perfect thorn to Great Britain; but it can no longer remain the brightest gem in the British crown, or a garden—a granary—a purse to England. Sir, do not make of India what Turks have made of the Roman Empire; but be to them what Romans have been to you; they carried civilization wherever they went, but never interfered directly with the manners and customs of the people. The Jews enjoyed perfectly their own rights under their Roman masters.

E.—But your countrymen have refused civilization; I again say, we have thrown pearls before swine.

N.—But, Sir, pardon me, and tell me if you have ever tried to civilize them, have you ever done any thing for them purely in that respect? Take a Division, and let us see what you have

done for the civilization of its population. Take that of Benares for instance, one of the finest divisions in India, having a population of about ten millions of human beings, and yielding about a million of sterling pounds per annum to Government, it has been in the hands of the English since 1775, and now let us see what has been done to civilize the people who form a fifteenth part of those of India.

E.—Is there not a Government College in Benares, a magnificent College?

N.—Yes, there is one, but do you not know that the Rájá of Benares had paid a lakh of rupees for its establishment, and do you think that it can civilize ten millions of souls scattered over six districts, with such a scanty means of communication as this country possesses; but look to the adjoining division of Allahabad, almost equal to that of Benares, there you will not be able to point out even a school of any kind established by the Government.

E.—Surely, they have done something for the village schools, and the education of the mass of the people since the memorable Despatch of the Court of Directors.

N.—Yes, *since* that despatch; but what did they do during the last almost a whole century. Did they ever think of educating the sepoys? Could they not learn the Hindi alphabet in a month or two, and then spend their weary hours in reading useful and interesting books prepared for the purpose, and collecting a store of general information. Would they have thought for a moment of mutinying in this way, had they even a gleam of the resources of England? Would they have thought for a moment the cartridges as a means to get them converted to Christianity, had they possessed the least knowledge of the commonest principles of that religion? From the sepoys, and the people too, so grossly ignorant as to think Company Máí now too old a lady to hold the reins of Government, can you expect any thing else than the present confusion and havoc? I hope if ever a native corps is again to be raised, whether for police

or for the field, let it be raised on this condition that 4 annas per mensem will be deducted from the salary of each sepoy and one rupee from that of sowar, to defray towards the expenses of a Regimental School and library, until he passes an examination in reading and writing Hindi alphabet fluently and correctly. Intelligent enemies are far less dangerous than the foolish and ignorant friends. Let them have a correct idea of the resources of England, a gleaming of the past history of India, a notion of the benefits which this country derives from its connection with England, and the knowledge of the kind of relation which the latter maintains with the former, even if their officers do that, I shall make myself responsible, if such a thing ever occurs again as it has now. The rise and fall of a nation depend on the kind of education it receives. The fate of a nation, at least for some generations, can be easily foretold by knowing the nature and the amount of education that it receives. Even now with all the despatches and orders of the Court only some thirty thousand rupees could be got from the Government for the Benares division, and with the full operation of the new Government educational system including the whole missionary and private institutions, only one boy in 48 of school-going age,* or one boy in four hundred souls of its inhabitants could be counted under tuition! Education cannot be expected to produce that effect, which is so desirable, until the Government does not attach to it that importance which is so undoubtedly due to its rank. Bonaparte perused and answered a college report from the field of battle; but our Governor-General cannot do that sometimes for years. All the zeal and labour of individuals are lost by the apathy shewn in the Head Quarters.

E.—But the people ought to look themselves after the education of their own children, ought they not? In England they have their own schools and pay for the education of their children.

N.—Here is the same error which you, Sir, so seriously commit

* In Prussia nine-tenths of *this portion* of the population is stated to be under instruction.

every where, you blend the ideas of England so confoundedly with this country, that it is very difficult for me to explain to you the wants of India. However, let me try it, first let us consider a few points in which the two countries so materially differ, and on the consideration of which points the Government ought to form its policy. The state of society in England, at the time of William the Conqueror, may be compared in many respects to some of the hilly and jungly parts of India. He having found himself sole master of the land by the right of conquest, divided it among his vassals like Maafee Jághirs in this country; the law of premogeniture secured perpetuity to a set of nobility who have in all ages been thought as pillars of state; and the income tax has brought high and low so equally under the burden that no one can complain or even pretend to have a complaint. The people tax themselves from year to year, or in other words pay only so much to the ministers that they think requisite to secure internal peace, and protect themselves from foreign invasion. The other works of general interest and public utility they take upon themselves, they meet, they consult, they subscribe and they act like true patriots for the benefit of their country. In fact, the king and ministers in England are nothing more than the servants of the people and responsible to them in every sense of the word, servant. Here in India the case is quite different. The Rájás and Bádshahs assumed the position of a father, that is master of person and property both, they left to their subjects, from the fruits of their labour, only as much as they thought proper to meet their individual wants and expenses. If any one of their subjects built a Serai or a bridge, or dug a well or a tank, it was only to perpetuate his own name and not to aggrandise the nation, for *that* the Rájás and Bádshahs only were to be looked at. They took from the Zemidárs as much as the latter could afford, they levied duties on merchandise as much as the commodities may not be driven out of market and whenever a servant of state amassed wealth beyond the limit assigned to him according to the caprice of these

self-elected "fathers," a portion of it was easily brought to the Royal Treasury under the name of Dand, or forced contribution; thus agriculture, trade and service, the three grand portals of income in the world, were all subjected to taxation; and the Rájás and Bádshahs did every thing which was required for the benefit of the country and the prosperity of the nation, they dug canals, they made roads, they built bridges, they established alm-houses, hospitals, and colleges. Hundreds and thousands of charitable institutions were established and hundreds and thousands of them received support in cash or rent free lands from the Emperors. The people thought this as their right and as a binding duty of their rulers. Whenever they failed to perform it satisfactorily and sunk in self-indulgence and luxury, the people groaned, complained and shook off the yoke of obedience; and so a kind of balance was always kept. You take more from the Zemindars (and I can prove it if you want) than the Rájás or Bádshahs took. The demand on account of land revenue in Bengal has, if my memory does not fail, more than doubled since the time of Alivardi Khan—you monopolize opium and salt—you sell stamps and levy fees—you give contracts for drugs and liquors—you collect chowkidaree, yet do not fulfil those fatherly duties for which the names of Rájás like Bhoja and Vikram, and the Bádshahs like Feroze and Akbar will long remain engraved on the memory of generations to come. The people of this country accustomed in this way to look to their rulers for the work of charity and public utility are quite astonished, and not a little annoyed to find the Government officers constantly begging for subscriptions on one pretence or the other. England sent an army to assist Turkey against Russia, the natives of India were made to subscribe for the Patriotic Fund. A Magistrate fancies to establish a hospital, the natives are called upon to subscribe; another comes and fancies to have a Ghat, the natives are called upon to subscribe—a third comes and fancies an Asylum or Dharamsálá, or library, or school, or tank, or well, or picture, or statue or any thing, and the people are called upon to subscribe.

Though the amount does not come very hard upon the subscribers, yet it being against the customs of this country is very obnoxious and unpalatable to the people, and lowers the Government in their estimation. Let the Government officers cease to have any thing to do with Chándás and subscriptions, and let the Government lay a crore of rupees or so per annum apart for charitable purposes.

E.—Bápre! where the money is to come from, the Government is already bankrupt.

N.—Thirty crores, which never came to the coffers of any Mogul, is quite sufficient to govern India, and if it does not suffice it is your fault, Sir, and not ours. Make sweeping reductions, reduce superfluous work, reduce superfluous establishments, and reduce extravagant expenditure and make people happy—the resources of the country are inexhaustible, with a little help the natives will be able to pay you even as much more as you want.

E.—Was it not our Government which abolished the transit duty—the people must be thankful at least for that.

N.—No one thinks about it—and in my opinion it was impolitic—the class which has directly gained by that is very small compared to that of agriculturist, and is composed entirely of bankers-merchants and shopkeepers. They are the wealthiest part of the population and best off under the British rule. They do not pay a single cowrie in the shape of taxation, and derive all the benefits of the best Government in the world; when the agriculturists groan overtaxed, these Mahájans fatten upon their ruin. I do not know how far it is possible to regulate and levy an income tax, but a moderate duty levied on all kinds of merchandise will not be felt by the people in this country, though if it is levied on just principles, it may be felt in England. But of whatever kind and of whatever amount the new tax may be deemed advisable for this country, let it be fixed in rate for *ever*, and let it have as its preliminary, a promise from Government that this is a final demand and no more will ever be asked

for. I know you will never approve this promise of " for ever," but remember that your ideas are formed in England where people have a voice in administration, a sure guarantee to protect their own interest and regulate the amount of taxation from year to year, as they find the calls of the state to meet with. But the natives of this country are still living under a despotic Government, cannot dare to open their mouth in the state affairs and find their refuge only in the word " Sudámad Ḳadím (law of precedence) ; once that barrier is broken and there is no limit to stop at, for the extortions of the Government. The people feel it. They argue it thus—" if the Government has passed an act to levy 5 per cent. on our income, what on earth can prevent it from passing another act the next year to augment it to 10—it must ultimately ruin us, so it is better as far as we can to oppose it now."

E.—No doubt the Government of India requires great reforms. Its fiscal, judicial and political—all administrations are based on false principles, it requires great statesmanship and genius to reform them—I hope the Parliament will take up the matter and do something for this country to which we owe so much.

N.—This is, Sir, another mistake of your countrymen, they take up every matter so elaborately and make it so grand that it becomes almost impracticable and useless. If they fancy it requires to give a code to the natives—they labor for years and years, and spend lakhs of rupees, and after all when the code is ready, they find it too difficult to be translated in Vernacular, and beyond the comprehension of the natives of this country. They never think for a moment, that first of all they ought to make themselves acquainted with the ideas of the natives for whom they have to legislate: when I told this to a gentleman—he said, " Keep your native ideas, we expect natives to imbibe *ours*." Just as if Jesus Christ instead of coming down in the form of a man and mixing with the humblest class and delivering the word of God in the language of the country, had waited in the heavens for men to go up and hear his lectures in the lan-

guage of Angels! Asia is a land of trifles, a word, a move, a courtesy, an insult, an hour's conversation, a letter, nay a look, decides here the fate of empires. Mahomed Sháh was brushing his teeth when Jay Sing went first to pay his respect after the death of his father, the king to have a fun tried to frighten the boy by taking hold of his both hands, and asking, "Well boy, how shall I treat you now ?" Jay Sing answered unhesitatingly that, "O the refuge of the world, if a man takes hold of another's hand, he supports him through his life, when you have taken hold of both of mine what more have I to ask for," the king made him "Savái" that is one fourth more than the greatest Rájás of the time, and so he was called all along Jay Sing Savái. You know, Sir, how much the British Government is obliged to the Mahárájá of Patiálá for his valuable assistance in the Sutlej Campaign. He asked Lord Hardinge as a favor to give his Highness' hand in that of Colonel Mackeson then Agent at Umbállá, the Lord did so immediately, but I hardly think that the Colonel ever understood its meaning. The Ladies and Gentlemen present at the Darbár were observed to smile at what they thought a mere piece of nonsense. Such is the land of Asia and such her people, whom you wish to govern by the laws and ideas of England. To expect reforms in revenue and judicial matters from Parliament is just to expect (don't laugh at me, Sir,) your dinner from the moon. To us it is of no consequence whether the Court remains or is abolished, whether the destinies of India remain in the hands of the Chairman of the Court, or the Colonial Secretary of the Queen, whether it is ruled by Mr. Mangles or V. Smith. We never take any interest in the discussions of Parliment, they show only how sadly the members are ignorant of the affairs of this country, they fight only for patronage and what is that to us, if in place of Grants and Colvins the country is deluged with Earls and Marquises. The natives may be delighted to hear the talk of having the sons and relations of Lords and Dukes as their magistrates, because they think Amírs of England must live somewhat in the

style of the Amírs of this country, namely, the Nawábs and the Rájás: will buy plenty of jewels for their ladies, employ many servants and give large Bakhsish. But they will feel themselves sadly disappointed when they find them, exceed in no other respect the present Hákimlogs, but in the ignorance of the country and its people. If the people of this country ever vote for the Queen, it will be only with an impression what they have of the difference between a king and a contractor in India. The king lavishes his wealth in gifts and khilluts and gives large Jágirs, when a contractor tries only to fill his own coffers. It was this false impression, or rather ignorance of English and England which took the Queen Mother of Lucknow to England, she thought that the Queen of England perhaps, taking compassion on a creature of her own class, and being pleased with a high valued present, may pass a word from her mouth to give back Oudh to Vagídalí Shah. Poor woman! she did not know that our gracious Queen has as little power to give an inch of land in this world as Janáb Áliya (the Queen of Oudh) has to give in the other. She perhaps had also calculated on procuring a recommendation of Pasha of Egypt in her way to England, and never thought that the recommendation of the Pasha of Egypt in such matters cannot be treated in England in any other respect than her recommendation in France to restore the house of Bourbons. If you intend seriously to reform the fiscal and judicial systems of India, why don't you have a run by dâk through the length and breadth of the country. See at each stage a Tahsíldár, and many respectable and intelligent Zamíndárs and Mahájans, but none of those who have the least imbibement of English ideas and talk over the matter with them; note down their hints and remarks, and in six months a man having a common sense can prepare codes which will fully supply the wants of these people. How strange it is that you do discuss such matters at the house of Lords for years and years, and never ask a question from the people of this country.

E.—When Government pass an act in this country do they not publish a draft in the Calcutta Gazette three months before?

N.—Yes, they do, but who reads it? except a few Bábus of Calcutta fit only to be employed as attorneys or teachers of Milton and Shakespear in England, they have become so imbued with English ideas and strangers to their own country, without getting rid of that want of true patriotism the wish of self-aggrandisement, and other defects so peculiar to an Asiatic, that they even think in English language, being unable to talk in their mother-tongue, are now teaching their wives English, they do not know the correct spellings of their Hindú names, and consequently have now adopted the mode of English short signatures as A. Ghose or B. Chackerbatty. They cannot walk without wearing high healed boots and puzzle the Hidustánees by offering them their hands to shake, who do not know what to do with that extended hand. The Gazettes are very expensive, and the mass of the people do not yet understand the object of publishing drafts; neither they are able to write petitions to Counsel about them. Why the judges are not ordered immediately on the receipt of a draft in the Gazette to convoke a meeting of the respectable natives in their districts, note down their remarks and opinions and send the paper up to Government?

E.—Have your Bengálís not formed a British India Association?

N.—Yes, but can India expect for a moment a reform from this Bengalí (par excellence called British India) Association. An Association which could not get any other person to represent its petition before the Parliament than an Englishman, an Association, the members of which shudder from putting their steps on board a steamer, though perhaps many of them would not hesitate to indulge themselves in beef and sherry.

E.—But tell me what has made the Government so unpopular with the people, what is the real cause of that?

N.—I can sum up the whole cause, or the real cause, in two words, namely, the reluctance of the English to *mix* with the

natives on equal and social terms. The Government did not become unpopular when officers like Tod and Malcolm, Augustus Brooke or Sir T. Munro were appointed to govern the country; reluctance in Englishmen to mix with the people increased with the increase of their power. Colonel Tod sat down for hours by the pallet of the Udaipur Ráná in his sickness to beguile his time by showing him pictures and mirrors; but in 1851, when the last native independent state, I mean the Punjab, had fallen in the hands of the British, and their power attained its zemith, a very renowned functionary invites one of the great Mahárájás to meet him from 12 miles and yet cannot spare of a few minutes to see him from his Cutcherry works. If the members of the Parliament were sincere well-wishers of their Indian possessions they would have made Tod's travels, and Rajasthan, as a text Book for the Indian Civil Service examination instead of History of Greece and Rome, where they could have found in almost the first page written " that no European can be an acceptable or useful functionary amongst the Hindus who is not familiar with their language, manners and institutions, and disposed to *mix* them upon equal and social terms." So the real cause of the unpopularity of the Government, and consequently of all the miseries under which the country labors is the reluctance of your countrymen to mix with the natives, because without mixing with the people they cannot acquire a thorough knowledge of their ideas, sentiments, notions, capabilities, social and moral conditions, internal economy, wants and prejudices, which is so necessary to govern successfully an empire, and through this ignorance and ignorance only, what a vast amount of money, labor, genius and energy is thrown away quite uselessly. The Government has become bankrupt, the people are oppressed and plundered by the very police which has been appointed to protect them. The debt cannot be recovered on account of the same laws which were passed to facilitate its recovery, the gentry and nobility are becoming daily scarce. The Zemindars had in my life time horses and elephants, have now become cultivators and plough

another's land, the Mahájans who could lend lakhs of rupees are now obliged to borrow in hundreds. The discontent and disaffection is spreading and increasing fast through the length and breadth of the country. The Government will feel no doubt stronger after the suppression of the mutiny than they ever were; if the hatred of their countrymen towards the natives increases in ratio to the increase of power as hitherto, the disaffection of the people and unpopularity of the Government, will increase also proportionally. The consequences are obvious and be assured the country will be ruined and desolated.

E.—But surely there are officers still in India who should eclipse the names of Tods and Malcolms.

N.—There are, Sir, but how few they are. It is owing to these few officers who come now and then to the lot of some districts that people have not yet despaired and risen in body against the Government.

E.—Look to the Punjab how admirably and energetically peace has been preserved there, and how contented the people are.

N.—Yes! but at the same time our North Western Provinces owe all this rebellion and anarchy to the very Punjab for which Sir J. Lawrence has so repeatedly been thanked.

E.—What you mean by this?

N.—Why, Sir, Lord Dalhousie annexed Punjab, but did not increase the European army—he poured the whole European army of the Bengal Presidency into the Punjab and took from Mr. Thomason, the best Civil officers that the North Western Provinces did possess. It is no wonder if peace has been preserved in the Punjab with such an amount of European soldiers and such a kind of Civilians untied with the acts of the Government or the Circulars and constructions of the Sudder Adawlut, but at the same time it is no wonder if the North Western Provinces are suffering proportionally for the absence of the very materials which helped Sir J. Lawrence in preserving peace in his satrapy. The great mistakes that I find in Lord Dalhousie's administration are first, his not increasing the European army,

and the 2nd, his converting the 5 per cents. to 4 per cent. loans. The plan of the Punjab did not succeed in Oude because an adequate number of European troops could not be spared for it—nor there was time or man to select officers for it, every thing was done in hurry and in a slovenly manner. Now the consequences are to be borne. The very peasants for whose protection as an ostensible pretension, the Government took the odium of annexing Oude, have raised their hands against the Government. The "*Friend of India*" wrote that 2 Companies would suffice to depose the king, and now three Regiments of European soldiers cannot restore order, such are the delusions of mankind at the time of success.

E.—But how is this rebellion now to be suppressed ?

N.—Had proper care been taken at *first*, it had not given us so much trouble, but now *as it is*, and perhaps may be a little more troublesome, the rebellion must be suppressed with a strong hand, no mercy is to be shewn to the rebels, they must be hunted down like wild beasts wherever they go, even for years to come. The troops are coming from England and they ought to be poured in and pushed on as fast as practicable, let the man who has dared to oppose the British authority whether he is a King or a Mahárájá meet the extreme penalty of law. Let the people be convinced, by whatsoever means it may be possible, of the resources of England and the power of the English, but be careful that you, at the same time, convince the people of the cool and calm judgment and impartial justice of the British Government and the influence of the Christian religion. Do not condemn the whole nation if a handful of Badmáshes or certain delinquents disaffected for the loss of political power or the power of plunder, or suffering from the hands of the police and the Court officials, have raised the standard of rebellion, or your own army has mutinied against you through your mistakes. Do not hang an innocent man because the real culprit cannot be found, or the man possesses an immense wealth or a prodigious state or a large pension, or is obnoxious to the police or magis-

trate strike terror by all means, by hanging the guilty, but never alienate from you and irritate the people by punishing the innocent. If a man commits a crime, do not burn or plunder his whole village. Till a man is not proved guilty, do not let him feel that you are suspicious or have no trust in him. It is a time that the wants of the army must be supplied in carriage, &c., by force and impressment, but see that every thing is paid fairly and liberally. Delhi is taken and Lucknow relieved. Mánsing will soon be killed or arrested, and I am quite sure that before cold season is over the rebellion will be suppressed and order restored. However I deplore the fate of my country. It was a day when Lord Lake entered Delhi to save it from the depredations of the Marathás and to raise it to a first class city from a perfect desolation, and now it is a day after more than half a century that General Wilson enters it to massacre and plunder the innocent inhabitants indiscriminately, with the mutineers, and convert it from a first rate city of the British India to a "perfect desolation!"

E.—And what reforms would you propose immediately after the suppression of the rebellion?

N.—For that, Sir, do not ask me because you, Sir, want some elaborate logically deduced theoretical reform which is utterly beyond the conception of a native, we live in the lands of trifles, and the reforms which we want are also very trifling; but first of all, let us have a Royal commission. Unless India is so fortunate that Sir J. Lawrence is appointed Governor-General with the powers of the President of the Board of Control, or her own Council or the Court of Directors take it into their heads to select at once Commissioners from men who may be found even better than Sir John. The Commissioners must be experienced men, well acquainted with the languages of the country, not very old, active, sharp, stout and bold, who can bear the fatigues of long journey and are unreservedly disposed to mix with the people. They must not travel like the Governors-General to cut the Burs and Peepuls which give such a cool shade to the weary

traveller, to consume the wood, grass and earthen pots which take the poor peasants months to prepare and to fill the coffers of the Burkandázes who invariably pocket the price of all such things for themselves, nor remain shut up in the big tents surrounded by Secretaries like the Governor-General, nor content themselves merely with, or waste their much time in, inspecting the records, be prepared to travel by Dâk with one or two Secretaries through the length and breadth of the country and collect their information from the people, and the people only, corroborated of course by the records of the offices. They must not put up with the local authorities, for by so doing the people will be overawed to give any correct information; though the Commissioners must see and hear also the local authorities and have many references to adjust with them. The party which is against the Royal Commission, and wants to keep the public of England in perpetual darkness about this country, may object and say that such a commission will put the Indian Government in a great jeopardy, and the people will set at naught its authority, but ask them if the annual tours of the Commissioners of Revenue or the Governors put the magistrates in jeopardy and do the people set at naught their authority. All the other reforms must depend on the result of the enquiries of these Commissioners, but I can name a few subjects towards which the attention of the Commissioners may be drawn most prominently, viz.: 1st, reduction in expenditure by reducing superfluous works like hundreds of references and statements, innumerable appeals and huge appendages of law and Court formalities, by abolishing superfluous establishments and stopping the extravagancies of the Government. If I be allowed to see all the bills for one year which are submitted to the Auditor's office for the whole of India, I dare say I can suggest a reduction of at least of five crores of rupees per annum; 2nd, attaching greatest possible importance to the education of the mass of the people and appointing an educational Secretary to the Government of India, the education must be carried on a sounder principle, and religion must be

fostered. Don't turn India from idolatry to atheism; 3rd, centralizing authority in the district officers as they have done in the Punjab, I mean do away with judges. Make the magistrates, Deputy Commissioners, convert the Deputy Collectors into extra assistants. Those cases only where the punishment is to be hanging or transportation are to be tried by the Commissioners, the rest by the Deputy Commissioners; appeal of course lying to the Commissioner and his decision to be final, reduce the number of Commissioners, give them each a good personal assistant or Secretary, abolish the useless Board of Revenue and the burthensome Sudder Adawlut, give three or four more Secretaries to the Lieutenant Governors and the Chief Commissioners. Give them both more powers and give plenty of European assistants and native extra assistants to the Deputy Commissioners. Each Tahsil ought to have a European assistant. 4th. Stopping all the native newspapers. Let one and only one be issued in each presidency under the immediate superintendence and control of the Director of Public Instruction, if you go through the file of only Chashmaifaiz for the last year, you shall be surprized to find that the rebellion is yet so circumscribed. 5th. Preparation of very short and most simple codes for Civil, Criminal and Revenue cases. They ought to be published in all the languages and alphabets current in the country. 6th. Disallowing the Vakeels and Mukhtárs who are not lawyers but professional liars; had I been king I had made a lie as punishable as murder. Arbitration ought to be made compulsory in civil cases, but the arbitrators to be appointed by the parties themselves. 7th. Making the Cutcherries in the hearts of the cities and a little more respectable, so that the natives may not think it as a long journey or a Pluto's realm, but as a Government office, to enter which is, by no means, disgraceful. This cannot be done as long as the peons of the Court are allowed to treat insolently and disgracefully the persons who are compelled to attend the Court. Let the authorities treat the persons who go to them in the Cutcherries, and give them seats according to their ranks, as

they do in their houses. The custom of receiving visitors at home only has made the Cutcherries very contemptible, no one likes to go there as far as possible either as a plaintiff or a witness. Let the public officers furnish their Cutcherries with carpets and chairs and receive the visitors there as the natives receive in their Durbars; the objection which the respectable natives now have to go to the Cutcherries will soon vanish, and the cases with the parties themselves present with respectable witnesses without any Vakeel to advise them to speak nothing but falsehood, will soon be decided without much time and trouble, nearer to truth and generally speaking satisfactorily to the people, a little courtesy and the commonest attention on the part of the authorities will achieve wonders. 8th. Making a provision in your revenue code against the great Zamindars being reduced in a short time to mere cultivators and their lands passing in the hands of some Mahajan: at such a settled state of the country which it enjoys under the British Government, and when there is no fresh grant of land from the state, the law of division to infinity is very injurious to the existence of great Zamindars and nobility. 9th. Electing the Thanadars by the people like the Lord Mayor of London, though the power of dismissal is to remain with the magistrate. The appointments of the Tahsildars and Saristadars ought to be gazetted like those of Munsiffs. The Tahsildars should have powers of Munsiffs and Deputy Magistrates. 10th. Increasing number of European troops by 10 or 20 thousand; local corps must be raised in different localities, never confine them to one caste or to the inhabitants of one part of the country, never import foreigners like Africans, &c., more than necessary, otherwise men of India will starve for the want of employment, 4 or 5 officers are quite sufficient for a corps, but they must think it the work for life and set their whole heart and soul in their corps without the faintest hope of ever getting a civil employment, it is not the quantity but the quality of the officers which has been the cause of our losing the Bengal army, for as soon as an officer made himself a little acquainted with

the languages of the country and showed himself conspicuously and knew a little of the people he was drafted out for the Civil Service and the Regiment left in their hands of mere boys who if failed in other things did not fail in imitating the arrogance of the Civilians and treating their sepoys with the same contempt and hatred as the Jemadars and Thanadars and sometimes Mahárájás and Nawabs also are treated by their brother Hazúrs of the Civil Service. 11th. Having the keeper of Jail always a European to protect the prisoners from the tortures of the native Daroghas, I would never allow the prisoners to increase so much, and have recourse to fine and flogging—flogging is the best punishment, felt, as the wise Chinese say,—equally by every man of whatsoever position he may be. 12th. Giving free passage at least to 10 natives of this country selected by the different Governments through their Commissioners every year to go to England, arrange for the Hindús about water and cooking places in Egypt and the board steamers. This is a very important thing equal to 10 European Regiments. 13th. Making grain cheap, put a check on its exportation. 14th. Expediting railways and increasing facility of communication in the interior. But remember that to mix with the people and to make yourself perfectly acquainted with the country is of the *first importance*, without that, no reform can be of any use, and if you do that, you will never be wanting any hint or advise from the others. Let the Governors at the time of their tours examine the district officers like Mr. Thomason by putting a few pertinent questions in their knowledge of the country and the people and let their promotion depend on the amount of that knowledge and popularity with the people, and not with the amount of favoritism in certain quarters.

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1858.

A LETTER

ON THE

INDIAN ARMY,

ADDRESSED TO THE MOST NOBLE THE

MARQUESS OF TWEEDDALE,

MAY 1842,

WITH NOTES APPLICABLE TO THE PRESENT TIME.

BY

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL JOHN BRIGGS, F.R.S.,
OF THE MADRAS ARMY,
AUTHOR OF "INDIA AND EUROPE COMPARED."

Pht·6

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1857.

PREFACE.

At a moment like the present, when India is the chief object of interest, and the reorganization of the Native Army of India becomes a subject of vital importance, it has occurred to me that I could not serve the public more efficiently than by publishing the following letter on the character of the Native Armies of India in the year 1842, addressed to the Right Honourable the Marquess of Tweeddale, on the occasion of his proceeding to Madras as Governor and Commander-in-Chief.

Oriental Club,
30th *Nov.* 1857.

TO THE MOST NOBLE

THE MARQUESS OF TWEEDDALE,

K.T. AND G.C.B.,

GOVERNOR AND COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF MADRAS.

MY LORD,

THE substance of the following communication was put into shape six years ago, on my return from India. It consists of notes made from authentic documents, which I procured before I left Madras in 1835, and the observations and opinions it contains are the result of an experience of more than forty years in the Indian Army, of which nearly thirty-three were spent in the East.

The late Sir John Malcolm, Major Badenach, and Captain Williams, have at various times described the composition of that army; and the instructive and entertaining pages of Orme give a lively picture of its history.—To understand the subject of which I am about to treat, it is necessary to take a cursory view from those materials of the early time, when the native army of India was formed, in order to comprehend the nature of the changes which have since taken place, and have brought it to its present state.—I propose, therefore, compressing, into as narrow a compass as possible, such observations on this subject, as do not appear on the records of the evidence taken in 1832, before the House of Commons, to render more complete that body of important and useful information.

Orme tells us, that, in the year 1746, the French brought a small body of disciplined natives of India into the field, in the siege of Fort St. David, at Cuddalore; and thus describes

them:—"The Sepoys are formed into companies and bat-"talions, commanded by officers of their own nation and "religion." In the next page he remarks that, "At this "time the English had not adopted the idea of training the "Indian Natives in the European discipline, notwithstanding "the French had set the example, by raising four or five com-"panies of Sepoys at Pondicherry." Some, however, were entertained in the latter end of that year for the seige of Madras, which were placed under the command of European officers. This measure shortly after led to the formation of regular corps. In the month of June, 1747, five independent companies, of 100 men each, from the western side of India, arrived at Cuddalore, one of which was raised at Bombay, and the four others at Tellicherry. The latter, commanded by a Mahomedan officer, (or, as Orme calls him, a *Moor*), entertained a design to desert to the French in 1748, but the plot being discovered, he was sentenced, together with ten other native officers, to be banished to the Island of St. Helena, where, in the end, they destroyed themselves out of despair.

The capture of Madras by the French, in 1748, and the removal of the Nabob to Tritchinopoly, the only position, (excepting Fort St. David), then in the hands of the English, led to the necessity for supplying troops out of the natives of the country.* The first Sepoys embodied on the Madras establishment are stated "to have been either Mahomedans or "Hindûs of very high caste, the latter being chiefly Rajpûts." This description must allude to the officers, as Rajpûts in sufficient number could scarcely have been procured in the Madras provinces to form any number of corps. These new levies when brought into action were, for the most part, kept in the rear at first as a reserve, both by the French and the English; but "they soon brought themselves into esteem." At the siege of Madura, in February, 1751, "they stormed with the "Europeans, and went to the attack with as much spirit as "them." The breach was bravely defended, and they sustained

* Each company consisted of three native Officers, a Captain termed Subadar, three Subalterns termed Jemadars, a Serjeant termed Havildar, and a Corporal termed Naig to every ten men or squad, and ten such squads formed a Company.

a "loss of ninety men and four of their captains, (Subadars,) "who were desperately wounded;" when Captain Cope, who commanded the storm, felt it right to desist, and to raise the siege.

In the month of August in the same year (1751), Captain (afterwards Lord) Clive, with 303 Sepoys, and 200 Europeans, occupied Arcot, and defended it by incredible exertions; and in the month of May, 1752, we find Clive at Tritchinopoly; from whence he marched with 300 Europeans, and 1,000 Sepoys, to attack the French General D'Auteiul at Golconda. On this occasion, says Orme, "the Sepoys outmarched the Europeans, "and after driving the French out of their post *at the point of* "*the bayonet*, decided the action before the arrival of the "Europeans."

In the year 1753 one Hussein Ally is mentioned as Commander-in-chief of all the French disciplined Sepoys; and is found at the head of an Army. This officer had already received a gold medal from the King of France for his gallantry.

In the year 1754 Mahomed Issoof (or Yusuf) is styled by Orme, Commander of the English Sepoys; and in 1755 he was detached to the south from Tritchinopoly in command of an army consisting of some *Europeans* and 500 Sepoys, where he was reinforced by 100 *more. Europeans.* Colonel Heron subsequently marched to the south, and co-operated with him, but Mahomed Yusuf retained his separate command. In the end of the same year, we find a Subadar, entitled Jemal Saheb, left at Madura, in command of 1,000 Sepoys.

At this period (1755) the Madras establishment comprised 2,000 European Infantry, and 14 battalions of Sepoys, amounting to 10,000 men, each battalion had one native Commandant and an Adjutant, both mounted officers, besides one Subadar, to each company. In the field a European Commandant (usually a Captain), and several Serjeants, were attached; one to each company, not to command it, but for the purpose of explaining the orders of the European Commandant, and of directing the movements of the corps, the internal discipline and economy of companies being confided to the native officers.

In the year 1756, the Madras Army comprised nearly all the British troops in India. There were a few independent companies of natives belonging to the Bombay Establishment; but in Bengal there were no regular troops, excepting one corps of 500 men, denominated Europeans, but which included several native Portuguese and Caffres. This body was maintained solely to protect the factory on the Hûgly. At this crisis Calcutta was attacked by Siraj-ud-Dowla, and 2,000 Buxaries (irregular matchlock men) were raised, but they were insufficient to defend the place, which fell, together with all the British territory in that quarter, into the hands of the Nabob Siraj-ud-Dowla.

At this important juncture Colonel Clive, with 500 European soldiers, two battalions of Madras Sepoys, and one Bombay independent Company, amounting in all to 1,500 natives, embarked from Madras and re-took Calcutta in January, 1757; shortly after which he began to raise native troops in Bengal. These were supplied with European officers from the Madras detachment, on the spot, and subsequently by others from the same establishment. By the month of June one of these corps (late the 2d battalion, 12th regiment) was ready to take the field, and joined the army which fought and gained the Battle of Plassey. This army consisted of Europeans from

Madras	500	
Mixed corps from Calcutta . . .	400	
		900
Two Madras battalions and one Company of Bombay Sepoys .	1,400	
One Bengal battalion . . .	700	
		2,100
Total		3,000

These Madras Sepoys continued in Bengal till 1759, when they were sent back to aid in the cupture of Masulipatam.

In the latter end of 1758, the fort of Madras, which had been long before restored to the English, and had since been properly fortified, was besieged by the Conte De Lally, who brought with him all the French troops he could muster. On this occasion, Mahomed Yusuf, Commandant, was detached

from Tritchinopoly, by Captain Richard Smith, with a force of 2,000 Sepoys, expecting to be aided by 1,000 Maratta Cavalry from Tanjore. In the event of this body not joining him he was authorised to raise a corps of 500 horse for the British service, which he was eventually compelled to do. On the 1st of December, 1758, he besieged and took the fort of Elvasanore from a French garrison commanded by Lieutenant Dumesnil; and on the 6th of the same month, he attacked and carried by storm the fortified pagoda of Tricolore; on which occasion he lost 75 men killed and wounded. From Tricolore he proceeded towards Madras, laying waste all the French territory on his route till he reached Chingleput, where he arrived on Christmas day, 1751, at the head of three battalions of Sepoys, and 1,000 Cavalry, chiefly enlisted by himself on the march. He was reinforced at Chingleput by two more battalions, which had been sent to join him; making his command altogether 3,500 Sepoy Infantry, besides Cavalry. Capton Preston, the Commandant of that station, jealous that so fine a force should be under a native officer, joined it with 80 Europeans, 600 Sepoys, and two brass three-pounders from the garrison. The Madras government, however, permitted Mahomed Yusuf to retain his command separate, in co-operation with Captain Preston; and shortly after Major Calliaud, having arrived from Tritchinopoly, assumed charge of the whole at the Mount, where he was joined by the Prince Mahomed Abdul Wahab, the brother of the Nabob Mahomed Ali Khan.

During the siege of Madras, Mahomed Yusuf made two or three vigorous attacks on the French army in the suburbs, while Jemal Sahib who had been recalled from the South and was now within the fort, headed two successful sallies from the garrison. The one on the 16th, and the other on the 21st of December. On the latter occasion he drove the French before him out of their trenches, and spiked two guns. The siege of Madras was at length raised on the 15th of February, 1759, after a duration of forty-two days open trenches.—An example of the character of Mahomed Yusuf is afforded by his conduct in the capture of Conjeveram. This town was defended for the French by one Muzafar Beg, a native Commandant, who had deserted from the English, and whose name was held in execration by

the English Sepoys on account of his perfidy. The army destined to attack Conjeveram consisted of 1,150 Europeans, and several battalions of Sepoys, the whole under the command of Major Brereton. One of the two attacks made on the place was conducted by Mahomed Yusuf, which succeeded; while that under Major Brereton failed. The Commandant Muzafar Beg was taken prisoner, and was about to be carried to Major Brereton, when Mahomed Yusuf meeting the party escorting him, and apprehensive that a pardon might be extended towards him, severed his head from his body on the spot with a single stroke of his scimitar, saying. "These are the only terms to "which a traitor is entitled."

In the storming of the fort of Masulipatam, in the same year, Colonel Ford, who brought back with him the two battallions of Madras Sepoys from Bengal, speaks in the highest terms of their bravery. In 1760, Colonel Coote assumed charge of the Madras army; and in his report of the conduct of the troops at the taking of Permacoil, states, "the Sepoys behaved "equally well with the Europeans." On that occasion three native officers were killed while leading the Sepoys to the storm; and their loss on that day amounted to 110 killed and wounded out of 300. Bahvani Sing Subadar, who was particularly distinguished, received a gold medal for his conduct.

Up to this time the native troops had been commanded by European officers attached to them only on particular occasions; but their whole internal discipline was left to the native officers. In 1766, the Madras Sepoys were embodied into battalions of 1,000 strong, subdivided into 10 companies; and one European commander, with two subordinate officers, were selected and appointed to each corps. In 1770, this number was increased to 28,000 men, and formed the native infantry which fought against Hyder, under Sir Eyre Coote.

The first corps of Cavalry raised at Madras was a regiment formed into troops under Sir Henry Cosby, in 1768; and to which were attached other European officers. These troops were in the service of the Nabob of Arcot, and their numbers were gradually increased, till in the war with Hyder, which broke out in 1780, they amounted to 2,000 men. They served with great credit during that war, which terminated in 1784,

when the Nabob's Cavalry were permanently transferred to the Company's service.

Sir John Malcolm has passed a very high and well-merited eulogium on this excellent body of troops, and has given examples of the distinguished character of many of their native officers, all of whom had entered the service of the Nabob, and were in it when the corps was transferred to the Company. The native officers were gentlemen of family and education, and realized the expectation which might have been formed of persons of that class. It is at this period the late Sir John Malcolm seems to think the native army of Madras had attained its highest state of efficiency. The chivalrous conduct of its native officers, the attachment of the men to their leaders, their patience under fatigue and hunger, their devotion to their European officers, and their fidelity to the state when imprisoned and cruelly treated by the ruler of Mysore—all tend to throw a lustre over the character of these faithful soldiers.

The armies of Bengal and Bombay kept pace with those of Madras. The former army, in 1765, consisted of 19 battalions of 1,000 men each, formed into ten companies, of which those on the flanks were denominated grenadiers. The native officers consisted of a Commandant and an Adjutant, mounted; and a Subadar and three Jemadars to each company. To every battalion were attached three select European officers, one to command, and two subordinates as staff. The Army was separated into legions or divisions, styled Brigades, each consisting of

1 troop of Native Cavalry,
1 company of European Artillery,
1 battalion of European Infantry
7 battalions of Native Infantry.*

In 1773, four European regimental officers were attached to every battalion. In 1781, the battalions were subdivided, and two formed a regiment; each regiment was commanded by a Major, each battalion by a Captain, and each company by a

* Some such disposition of the Indian Army, with at least double the number of Europeans, might, with a well regulated militia or police like that of Ireland, be advantageously adopted at the present period.

European subaltern *selected* from the whole body of officers, who rose in line. In 1783, the appellation of regiment was discontinued, the rank of Major was abolished, the former organization was again reverted to, and one European subaltern officer was *selected* to command each company.

The Bombay Army consisted originally of independent companies commanded by Subadars raised for service at Madras. They reached Cuddalore, as we have seen, in 1747; and one of these companies proceeded to Calcutta, and fought at the Battle of Plassey in 1757. Between that period and 1780, the Bombay Army had been so increased that at the latter period it consisted of 15 battalions formed into companies, as at the other presidencies. In 1783, this army was reduced to six battalions, and was on all occasions distinguished for its gallantry and attachment to its European officers. Subsequent to the termination of the war with Hyder, in 1784, gradual changes took place in the constitution of the native army, on which I shall proceed to dilate; but as my information is more complete with regard to that of Madras, I shall treat more particularly of the effect of those changes on that body. Up to that time the discipline of the Sepoy army had been entrusted principally to its native officers, having only three Europeans—that is to say, a commanding officer and two staff to each corps, with only a few serjeants serving under the native officers, to facilitate communication with the European commander and his staff; but the constitution of the native army remained essentially unchanged. It was, in effect, the same as when first formed; improved only in its discipline and regularity. It consisted of the two classes of which all armies to be effective must be, and always have been composed:—one class derived from the better order of society, accustomed to command the services of domestics and underlings; and the other class drawn from the lower grades, who are from infancy habituated to obedience, and taught to respect the upper class on whom they are dependent.

The former class composed those officers which are the subject of our admiration in the narratives of Orme, and in the relation of the late Sir John Malcolm; to the accuracy of whose testimony there are still living witnesses. The organi-

zation of our native army differed little from that of the native Princes, which is preserved in all those distinguished bodies of irregular cavalry which were, and still continue, in our service. In this I include those corps in the service of native powers, commanded by European officers drawn from our regular army. The native troops thus organized have occasionally performed feats surpassed by no soldiers of their class in the world.

Subsequent to 1784, more Europeans were attached to native regiments; and the respectability and consequence of the native officers began to be encroached on;—so that in the next war against Tippoo, which lasted from 1790 to 1793, the Sepoys were scarcely ever employed but under European officers. The war, too, was carried on with a greater body of European troops, and Sir John Malcolm, in his Political History of India, adverting to the altered state of the Sepoy force, observes, "The native army, though improved in discipline, had in some "degree become a secondary one; and the pride of those who "composed it was lowered." In a subsequent part of the same work he alludes to the more serious alteration which was carried into effect at Madras, only in 1798, consequent on the re-organization of the Indian army in 1796, and says, "The "whole form of the army was changed. Instead of a single "battalion commanded by a Captain who was selected from "the Company's European regiments, and a subaltern to each "company, regiments were formed of two battalions, to which "officers were appointed of the same rank, and nearly the "same number, as to one (battalion) in the service of His "Majesty." In an essay on the native army, published in the Quarterly Review, in 1818, it is remarked—"The good effects "of this change, as far as related to the temper and attachment "of the native army at Fort St. George, have been questioned "by an officer of that establishment, who was, from local "experience, well qualified to judge."

The most material change in the new arrangement consisted in the mode of filling up vacancies among the European officers. These were no longer the élite of the Army, *selected* for their qualifications; but promotion went on in regimental gradation, and the completion of casualties took place by the nomination of Cadets, direct from England, who succeeded to

the command of companies, as vacancies among the other European officers occurred. The patronage and authority of the native officers were transferred to the Europeans. Native veterans—perhaps covered with wounds, and distinguished in the field as officers in the regiment before many of the European striplings commanding them were born—naturally lost all their influence and respect; and from that time no men of the same class as the original race of native officers have entered the service. The transfer of the power of the native officer to the European might have been attended with an improved state of discipline, and perhaps of fidelity; but in superseding the old race of native officers, their place ought to have been filled by Europeans, for the continuation of a body of native officers necessarily derived from the lower grades of society, since they rise usually, by rotation, from the ranks, and rarely obtain commissions before 20 years' service and upwards, was a great oversight: first, because these men become discontented when they do obtain commissions on finding that they never attain command; and secondly, because, while they exist, the number of European officers are deemed by the government fully adequate to the duty of commanding the men, since in former times they were managed by a smaller number even than at present, forgetting altogether that in those times the native officers were really efficient. Each battalion, with its native commandant and native officers, had hitherto offered an honourable provision for young men of family who entered the army with the promise and hope of early promotion to a commission, owing to his having connexions in the service.

Of the Bengal Army, Sir John Malcolm and Major Badenach state that the infantry is composed, two-thirds of Hindûs, and one-third of Mahomedans; while in the Cavalry and Artillery the ratio is inverted. The Hindûs of the Bengal Army are Rajpûts, a military tribe which occupies almost all the soil in the countries in which they are recruited. They for the most part follow the pursuits of agriculture; but where the land affords them no employment, they prefer the military profession to any other. Their pay on entering the service, after making allowance for the expense of linen, pipe-clay, heel-ball,

and the stoppage made for the supply of small stores, yields them little more than a day labourer, and less than many menial servants, whose offices their pride would not suffer them to undertake. The habits of these Hindûs are frugal and sober; drunkenness is hardly known amongst them; and they are excellent soldiers, in spite of some prejudices which they inherit, and which are indulged by their European officers much more than on the other establishments. The pay of the cavalry and artillery is better than that of the infantry, and into those corps the Mahomedans, who have no prejudice against taking care of their own horses, enter more willingly than the Hindûs.*

Of the composition of the Bombay Army, Sir John Malcolm

* By a Return made to the India House in 1842, the following represented the different sects in the ranks of the regular Bengal Army.

Regular Infantry,	Christians	1,076	
	Mahomedans	12,411	
	Brahmins	24,840	
	Rajpoots	27,993	
	Hindus of inferior casts ...	13,920	
			80,249
Regular Cavalry,	Mahomedans	2,088	
	Brahmins	1,132	
	Rajpoots	789	
	Other Hindus	135	
			4,144
Total,	Christians	1,076	
	Mahomedans	14,489	
	Brahmins	25,972	
	Rajpoots	28,782	
	Other Hindus	14,045	
			84,393

Of this body the whole of the Cavalry and two-thirds of the Infantry are in arms against the Government, and the others have been disarmed by force.

Besides the regulars there were raised for service in the Punjaub twenty-three regiments of Infantry, one corps of Guides, and five regiments of Cavalry. The Infantry and the Guides have remained loyal, and have fought gallantly against the mutineers, most of the Cavalry have proved false. The former are composed mainly of the Sikh forces late in the service of the Government, which are subverted, and who have no common sympathy with the sects of the mutineers. The latter are for the most part Mahomedans, and joined in the attempt to reinstate a Mahomedan Empire. All this class of troops are commanded by select European officers, with only three or four in each regiment.

has spoken, and Captain James Grant Duff, an old and highly intelligent regimental officer, who filled the office of regimental staff in an infantry corps for many years, says, that "They "were chiefly Marrattas from above and below the ghats in the "Deccan, but principally from the southern Concan" at a time when those countries were in the hands of the Peshwa. Some were Mahomedans of Surat and Bombay, from whom were derived many of the most respectable of the old native officers. Of Purwaries and D'hers, a very low caste, but frequently very intelligent, excellent soldiers, there were considerable numbers; there were also a few Canarese and Nairs from Malabar, the latter deeming themselves a military race. Besides these there were some Jews, commonly drunken, but invariably brave men. In modern times (that is to say, since the last Marratta war) the Hindûs of the provinces of Hindûstan, from whence the Bengal Army is recruited, have been much sought after for the Bombay Army. They are a taller, stouter, and handsomer race of men than the Marrattas: but after all, they are foreigners, and ought not, I think, to be too largely introduced. The proportion in 1835 was—

Hindûstanies	12,476
Concan Marrattas	10,015
Decanies including Mahomedans . . .	1,910

All the achievements of the Bombay Army (and they were not a few) were performed by the mixed classes, before the Hindûstanies were introduced; and although the latter may be reckoned as equally brave soldiers, I conceive that, unless recruits are not to be obtained in the territories of the Bombay Presidency, the recruiting from Hindûstan should be discouraged; for I think it good policy to maintain those national distinctions which exist among the different Native Armies, and which invariably lead to emulation when the troops of the several Presidencies are brought to act together. There will be fewer desertions also in the field when the men leave part of their pay with their families in our own provinces.*

* The numbers of the different sects in the Bombay Army have not been satisfactorily given in the return of 1842, and no later has been received. It is believed that the Hindûstanies considerably exceed what they did in 1835, when my return was made, and that they may be fairly

The Native Officers of the Madras Army, in early times, are said to have originally consisted of Mahomedans and high caste Rajputs. Many of the descendants of these Rajputs entered the army for the sake of promotion! and when I came into the service, in 1801, some of the most respectable of our native officers were of this description. The Sepoys, who fought the battles of Clive and of Coote—who contributed to the humiliation of Tippoo in 1792, and to his downfall in 1799; and who gained laurels under the Duke of Wellington in the campaign of 1803-4—were, like the Bombay Army, of a mixed class. The infantry was composed of Pariahs, Pullers, and other low cultivators of the Carnatic, and of the northern Circars, with some few Mahomedans. The cavalry were wholly Mahomedan. In the year 1806, the epoch of the Vellore mutiny, Government, on what ground does not appear, forbade any recruit to be enlisted for the Madras Army, of the low caste tribes; and advantage was taken of that order to discharge all those for which such excuse could be found. An old Rajput Subadar, whose company I commanded for some years, and for whom I entertained great esteem, considered the measure highly impolitic. These men, he said, have ever been faithful, obedient, and brave; and the day will come when you will confess how much higher qualities they possess, as good soldiers, than the Mahomedans whom it is now the fashion to bring forward.

The corps of Madras Pioneers, lately converted into Sappers and Miners, has always been, and still continues to be, composed chiefly, if not entirely, of low caste men. That corps has been always commanded by European officers *selected* from the line. There has been no service since the earliest times in

equally divided into Brahmins and Rajputs. They are recruited from the same provinces which supplied the mutineers of the Bengal Army, and the several instances of outbreak in the Bombay Army have been confined to them and to those Mahomedans, who are derived from the same quarter. That the Bombay regiments have not been so successful in destroying their officers and joining the mutineers of Hindustanies is to be ascribed solely to the number of Marattas and men of the lowest castes, tribes which still remain in the hitherto loyal Army of Bombay.

The irregular corps in Sind, though for the most part Mahomedans, have maintained their loyalty to the British Government.

which it has not participated; and it has accompanied every expedition by sea. The weapons of a sapper are his hoe, his axe, and his mattock. His duty is to construct roads, often in the face of an enemy, and under a heavy cannonade; to form trenches during sieges; to lead assaults; and to carry the ladders by which the troops are to enter fortifications, either at the breach, or by escalade; no duty is more harassing, nor trying to the temper, the courage, and the health of men than is the life of our Indian sappers; but this corps has on every occasion covered itself with honour. There has never been an instance of disaffection in it; and in the field it has excited the admiration of every class of the army.

Official returns are sent in monthly by Regiments of the Madras Army, shewing the relative number of Hindus and Mahomedans in each; from which return the accompanying abstract was formed in the year 1835.*

MAHOMEDANS.	Native Officers.	Non Comsd. rank & file.	HINDUS.	Native Officers.	Non Comsd. rank & file.
Cavalry . .	151	— 3,518	Cavalry .	7	— 448
Artillery .	40	— 949	Artillery .	25	— 1,021
Infantry .	516	— 14,901	Infantry .	375	— 25,084
Total . .	777	— 19,368	Total . .	407	— 26,553

The Cavalry and the Horse Artillery are almost all raised in the populous town of Arcot. It is, in truth, the recruiting depôt of the mounted portion of the service. The town is full of pensioned and invalid soldiers and native officers, and perhaps this circumstance imparts an "esprit de corps" which exists in no other branch of the service to the same extent. The high character this body has ever held it still retains. There are no instances of sedition, like those which have marked the corps of Infantry during the last thirty years, though those mutinies have originated in a Mahomedan spirit; and Sir John Malcolm has truly remarked, "That in punishing the mutineers of "Vellore, the swords of the native Cavalry were as deeply

* This does not materially differ from the return made to the India House in 1842.

"stained with the blood of their deluded brethren and fellow-"soldiers as were those of the English Dragoons."

In the year 1831, the Commander-in-Chief of Madras was induced to call for a return of the state of education in the Native Army; and the following result of that inquiry shows how much it is neglected, and from how low an origin the Native Army is derived—a conclusion, however, which should not excite our astonishment when we reflect on the small pay the Sepoy receives. Education is very general among the people of India; all those forming the middle classes are early instructed to read and write; and few, even of the personal domestics of Europeans are so uninstructed as not to be able to keep an account.

An abstract of the return exhibits the following state of the educated:—

	Who can read at all.
Cavalry and Horse Artillery -	726 out of 4,966
Foot Artillery and Infantry -	7,226 out of 39,985
Sepoy Recruit Establishment -	280 out of 4,321

The original return exhibits two very remarkable circumstances which merit notice. These are, first, that in one Regiment of Cavalry, and in the Horse Brigade of Artillery, there is not a single Native Officer, or Havildar Major (Serjeant Major) who can read;—and the same occurs in the case of all the Subadars of two other regiments of Cavalry; so that, out of eight regiments of Cavalry, and one of Horse Artillery, there are four corps in which no Subadar (or Native Captain) can write or read. The second is the very small portion of the Sepoy Recruits that can read, and for whose education Regimental Schools exist. This admirable institution consists of thirty sons of deceased Sepoys above seven, and forty above twelve years of age, in each regiment, who receive half-pay, and are trained till of an age to enter the army.

Referring to the proportion of the Hindus and Mahomedans in the Madras Army, we find the former exceed the latter in the proportion of 7 to 5 in the Non-Commissioned Rank and File; whereas, among the Commissioned Officers the proportion is nearly 2 to 1 in favour of the Mahomedans. This excess of

Mahomedans over Hindus in the Commissioned ranks is more apparent in the choice of officers to the rank of Subadar Major, where we find out of 59 there are only 16 Hindus and 43 Mahomedans.

In the case of officers who have received orders of merit for distinguished services in the field we do not perceive the same difference, for of these, though there are 50 Mahomedans, there are also 27 Hindus. Orders have at different times been issued to recommend the Hindu and Mahomedan Non-Commissioned Officers for promotion alternately, but reasons have always been found to evade the orders, nor would such a rule be just while the proportion of Hindus so greatly predominates. The promotion should rather be made in proportion to the numbers of each class. But the real cause of this partiality towards the Mahomedans arises out of a circumstance which I shall proceed to explain.

The Madras Infantry is recruited in the Provinces of Telingana north of Nellore, wherein the Telugu language alone is spoken, and in the Carnatic south of Nellore, wherein the Tamul language prevails: the Mahomedans born in these provinces speak the language of the nation as well as the Hindustani, the language of their original country, which is for the most part unknown to the Hindus. The European Officers are required to learn the latter language alone, and therefore can communicate freely only with the Mahomedans, who speak that language. In consequence of this, the European Officer and Hindû Sepoy, on entering the army, have to learn a foreign language. The European is bound to acquire it, to fit him for his duty; but the same necessity is not imposed on the Hindû; for the whole regiment (with the exception of the European Officers) speak his language as their own native tongue. The Telugu Hindûs, if they enter the service young, contrive to understand, and often speak Hindûstani; though seldom sufficiently well to recommend themselves to their European Officers. The Tamul Hindûs, however, from the peculiarity of their native dialect, seldom, if ever, pronounce the Hindûstani language so as to be understood. These causes have tended greatly to retard the promotion of the Hindûs in the Madras Army. In the Bengal Army, the Sepoys speak Hindûstani alone; but in the

Bombay Army, where the Hindûs, for the most part, are Marrattas, a knowledge of their language is required to qualify an Officer to fill the office of a perfect Interpreter, and an increased pay is given to one so qualified. The result is, that many Officers of the Bombay Army read and write Marratta with facility.

In the year 1799, the war with Tippoo was very unpopular among the Mahomedans, and some cases of desertion in the Madras Army occurred on the march from Masulipatam to the southward, brought about by the influence of some Mahomedan Officers. During the war, several Mahomedan Native Officers of Infantry actually went over to the enemy, but they eventually suffered death, by sentence of Court Martial.

In the year 1806, the mutiny of Vellore was only part of a general disaffection of all the Mahomedan Infantry, more or less, on the Madras Establishment, which had for its object the destruction of the European Officers, and the restoration of the family of Tippoo.

In the year 1812, a very serious mutiny broke out at Travancore, which also aimed at the murder of all the European Officers on the spot. The plot was discovered and checked, by the vigilance and vigour of the local authorities. On that occasion ten Native Officers were tried, and condemned to death, though not executed. Several privates, however, suffered.

In 1832, an endeavour was again made in the Madras provinces to rouse Mahomedan hostility against our power; and two distinct attempts, within six months, occurred at Bangalore, to render our Government unpopular; and in the latter case it was certainly intended to have murdered the European Officers.

It is worthy of remark that, in the whole of these instances, no Hindû Native Officer was ever implicated; the plots having been matured, and in one instance carried into effect solely by Mahomedans.

The recollections of the subversion of the power of the Nabobs of Masulipatam, of the Carnatic, of Cuddapah, of Karnool, and of the Mahomedan sovereigns of Mysore, is still fresh in the memory of the Mussulmans. Their faith requires them to convert or to slay all other sects, and their Priests or

Fakirs, to whom they are devotedly attached, inculcate these doctrines. Sir H. Russell, in his evidence before the House of Commons, has advertedtothe influence of these bigoted fanatics; and from his long residence at Hydrabad no one had a more favourable opportunity of observing it. On the whole, therefore, I consider the undue encouragement afforded to Mahomedans, as non-commissioned or commissioned officers, in the Madras Infantry, is much to be deprecated.*

The numerous instances of disaffection in the Madras Infantry, in which the Native Officers have been the leaders, seems to have suggested the idea of improving their condition, or of attaching them to the State by rewards. The pay of the Subadars has been raised to three grades, according to length of service. Honorary presentations of horses and palankeens, with increased pay to maintain them, were made; and lately even native titles and insignia of rank have been bestowed on them. In some cases, grants of land to descend to their posterity have been conferred, with other rewards. The attention to the comforts, and a just reward to the claims, of the native soldiery, was never carried farther in any military body than it has been in the Madras Army; and though no troops have behaved better in the field, none have been so deeply stained with the guilt of mutiny and sedition in time of peace. The steps that have been taken at Madras to attach the Native Officers to our Government have certainly not succeeded; whilst at Bombay and Bengal, where the same class have not enjoyed similar advantages, more fidelity and less pretensions have distinguished them.

* The sanguinary character of the Mahomedans, their bigotry and their religious zeal and phrenzy are too well known in Europe to be here insisted on. Like the Jesuits, they believe that every convert made by a true believer advances him towards Paradise in the next world, and that death in the cause of religion ensures a place in Heaven. With such convictions we need not be surprised to find the Mahomedans availing themselves of every opportunity of making proselytes, and when to this is added the regret and shame attendant on the loss of their power, we must always be prepared to meet the disaffection of this body of our subjects in India. This, however, may be effected without altogether excluding the Mahomedans from the army or from civil offices, as long as we can hold out to them sufficient motives for loyalty and dread of punishment

I have already shown of what description were the Native Officers in the Madras Army, before the organization of 1796, previous to which no such mutinies ever occurred. In the present day, the native officer must rise gradually from the ranks. He enters as a private, on a pay little superior to that of the lowest domestic of an European's establishment. He serves in the ranks, as a sentry, for fourteen or fifteen years, and in as many more; if he conducts himself properly, he passes through the non-commissions till he obtains an officer's commission. Such is the career of the greater part of the native officers of our army: and the following table exhibits the class of society from whence they are derived.

It has already been seen that, among the several races of India, some are extensively educated; that in this respect our native army is very deficient, and will hardly bear a comparison with the better order of domestics; from this class the present race of native officers is derived, and a return of the crimes committed by this body will serve to illustrate, at once, the description of persons of which the native commission ranks are composed.

From a review of the native courts-martial, I find that between the years 1800 and 1830, there were 331 native officers of the Madras Army brought to trial; and that of these 267 were convicted and sentenced, on the following charges:—

Drunkenness on duty	127
Insubordination	29
Mutiny and sedition, with the intention of murdering their officers (all Mahomedans)	46
Bribery, usury, and peculation	26
Perjury, and subornation of evidence	5
Absent without leave	3
Robbery, burglary, theft on liquors and public stores	16
Assaults and affrays	12
Total*	267

In considering this part of the subject, we can arrive but

* This number, out of about 1160 native officers, during thirty years is

at one conclusion; namely, that the race of native officers who so distinguished themselves under Clive and Lawrence, under Coote and Cornwallis, under Harris and Wellington, no longer remains in our regular army.

The effect of the organization of 1796 on the native commissioned part of our army, was not foreseen. The native officers, compared with their predecessors, have dwindled into a low, degenerate race, superior in no respect to Havildars or Serjeants; and it is not asserted, by the most experienced European officers, that they fulfil any duty that the latter might not equally perform. The number on the Pension and Invalid Establishment, at Madras, amounted, in 1831, to more than two-thirds of the effective strength; and, indeed, the inducement to retire is so great, that it is difficult to retain any Subadars of the higher grades in the service.

The necessity for keeping up this useless and expensive class is urged as presenting a final reward to the native soldier in order to secure his fidelity and attachment; but it appears to me that the continuance of the present system, with all its evils and defects, is an error, and that the same end may be attained in a less expensive manner. Few if any Sepoys on entering the service, have any expectation of becoming Officers. The contingency is so remote, the time of probation in the junior grades is so long, and the chances of success among so many is so small, that the abolition of the *commissioned ranks* altogether would, I believe, have little or no effect on the temper of the Sepoys, if it were attended with any plan for improving their own present condition. The only part of the army likely to complain would be the Native Officers themselves, and the non-commission ranks: and it is these classes which it would be politic and important to reconcile to the adoption of any new measures that may be desirable. The measures I propose are of a character that would, I think, have that effect, without involving the state in much expense; but I shall defer the subject for the present, till I have said something concerning the European

infinitely small. It is a singular fact, also, that while the mutinous spirit has been confined to the Mahomedans in the Madras Army, there does not appear a single instance where it has been necessary to bring a native officer of any sort to trial for misconduct in the face of an enemy.

Officers. Sir John Malcolm, in his Political History of India, observes, "It is to our European Officers we must chiefly trust for the safety of our Empire; in case of any division among them, it will soon verge to its decline. The competency, the spirit, and the loyalty of this class constitute our strength." Every day brings with it a confirmation of the justice of these sentiments.* During the time I served in the Native Army, two events have occurred which created a clamorous disaffection among the European Officers. I allude to the period of Sir George Barlowe's government at Madras, in 1809; and to the half-batta question in Bengal, in 1829. On both these occasions the grievances complained of were partial, and, in some measure, unreal. Such, however, was the general excitement produced, that I question if there had been even one hundred Officers, of rank and influence, born in the country and attached to the soil by ties of consanguinity, whether the division alluded to by Sir John Malcolm would not then have taken place. It is awful to contemplate the consequences that might ensue in such a case. Let us imagine, for instance, one or more of the subsidiary forces intriguing with, and eventually transferring their services to, the native Princes, and securing a tract of country for their support. Imagine, I say, if at the same time the whole body of Officers in the Army were discontented, and a large portion disaffected, what might be the result. It is through the leading men of communities whole masses are directed or controlled; and the officers, both European and Native, must be kept in humour, if we expect to govern India through the agency of our army. As Sir John Malcolm has justly observed, our Eastern empire has been gained by the sword, and can only be sustained by it, in spite of the most just and excellent laws. Our rule must for ever be offensive to the people. Composed as the European part of the native army now is, England has little to apprehend from the defection of her sons: the connexion with the mother country is too close and too firmly rivetted to be broken asunder. The

* To the number of European Officers who were separated from the mutinous regiments, and became available as volunteers with the loyal troops, is due the success which has crowned the efforts of our small but gallant bands at the present crisis in different parts of India.

prospect of pensions in their native land, the land with which all their early associations are connected; the land in which their relatives reside, and in a climate to which all more or less must resort for health; these are the ties which now secure the loyalty of the European officer to the British government, and which scarcely anything can unbind. In proportion as these ties are strengthened, the safety of India will be secured, and it has been justly said that "the competency, "the spirit, and the loyalty of this class, constitute our "strength." These sentiments are, I believe, those of every statesman who has made the Indian government his study.

I have shown that, before 1796, the efficiency of the Native Army was preserved by *selecting* European officers to command single corps, and by the nomination of other *select officers* of experience to aid them in each; and that then was the period when the Sepoy Army was most efficient. A material change, indeed I may say a totally new organization, of the constitution of the Army took place at that time: when half the number of field officers allowed to regiments in the Royal Army, and half the number of European regimental officers, were appointed to the Sepoy Army, who virtually took the place of the old native officers. The advantage of selecting European officers for Sepoy corps was greatly diminished; but there still remained the alternative of filling up vacancies in one battalion, by selecting officers from the other.

In the year 1824, an entirely new scheme for remodelling the European branch of the native Army was adopted. The plan of the regulations of 1796 was lost sight of, and battalions of infantry were formed into separate regiments. Instead of the European officers bearing a proportion to the number of companies, that is to say, one Captain and three subalterns to each squadron of Cavalry, or grand division of Infantry, an equal number of every rank was distributed to regiments, without reference to the number of men, of troops, or of companies.

To each regiment of Infantry and Cavalry, and each battalion of Artillery, were attached

1 Colonel,
1 Lieutenant-Colonel,

1 Major,
5 Captains,
10 Lieutenants,
5 Ensigns;

as if each regiment of Infantry and Cavalry, and battalion of Artillery, consisted of an equal number of companies and troops; whereas at the time a regiment of Infantry consisted of ten companies; a regiment of Cavalry of six troops; and a battalion of Artillery of four companies.

If the regulations of 1796 limited the selection of European officers for native corps, from the whole line to the two battalions of each regiment, the arrangement of 1824 narrowed the field still more, since, in the event of a corps being weak in European officers, either in taking the field or during a campaign, the vacancies can only be supplied by raw youths from England—youths without experience, or knowledge of the language or habits of the men, or of their own duty. It is true that on such occasions officers on the general staff (two out of each regiment) are, in all practicable cases, directed to join; but their long absence from regimental duty, their ignorance of the men, and the consequent want of confidence of the latter in such officers, render them less valuable than if they had been all along performing regimental duty.

In the two wars that are now waging, in Affghanistan and in China, it will be found that in almost every regiment some companies of Infantry are wholly without European officers; and after the review I have taken of the organisation of the Native Army, I would submit to any officer who ever served a campaign, what can be expected, even from the best troops in the world, so destitute of efficient officers. With regard to the European regimental officers, it is notorious that the best of them are selected for staff duties or for civil employ; that the least efficient of the seniors are left with the corps, and the great mass of them consists of the youngest and least experienced. I leave out of view the native officers who, I have shown under the present system of recruiting and promotion, can never stand higher, in point of respectability, than serjeants; and who, from the very circumstance of holding com-

missions, become discontented, and are more noxious than useful.

It will naturally be asked what remedy I propose. In reply, I beg to be understood now to confine my remarks to the Madras Army.* I would require, as a general rule, that the promotion to the grade of lance corporal (confined by regulation to the recommendation of the officer commanding the company) should be made with reference to the proportion of the Hindûs and Mahomedans in each regiment, a rule not to be departed from except in very special cases of good conduct; that the same rule should extend to Subadars Major, who should be selected from the line in each branch, and be liable to removal from one corps to another. With respect to European officers, it ought to be a standing order that no officer should have charge of a company, *or draw the company allowance,* till he had passed an examination in the *vernacular* language of the regiment. This order, I feel confident, will be the only effective mode of securing equal justice to all classes and races in the army. I would by no means suggest any sudden innovation into the existing state of things: we ought

* The late events confirm rather than shake my opinion of the necessity of abandoning the system of raising Native officers from the ranks. I am also of opinion that it is inconvenient, if not dangerous, as it has proved in Bengal, to fill our ranks with what are deemed men of caste. The lowest tribes,—the Agrestic slaves, namely, the Pariahs and Pullers of the Carnatic,—formed the great mass of the Madras Infantry till 1806, before which time mutinies were unheard of. The Parwarries, or Nags of Bombay, formed a large portion of that army, till the rage for Hindûstanies prevailed, after the Marratta war of 1817-18, and no more loyal or efficient troops ever existed. In India, where the pay is, and always ought to be, higher than that of an unskilled labourer, we shall have no difficulty in obtaining recruits from the lower classes. Neither agricultural Hindûs nor Mahomedans need be excluded; but we have seen how dangerous it is to give a preponderancy to the Mahomedans, or to permit the priesthood, with all their power and prejudice, to enter our army at all. Let priests confine themselves to their clerical duties, but not wean men's minds from their secular duties to the Government they serve, and which feeds them. Every native regiment in India should be composed of those castes or sects who have the fewost prejudices against Europeans or their habits, who should be prepared to perform the duties required of soldiers under all circumstances which should be clearly explained to every recruit on his enlisting. The articles of war should be periodically read by companies on parade.

to avoid by all means evincing distrust towards any particular class; but justice and policy both require that we should restrain that overweaning disposition towards the Mahomedans, who from habit, religion, and past reminiscences, are by far the most discontented and dangerous portion of the community in the south of India.

I have exhibited, I think forcibly, that which has been so repeatedly brought before the home authorities—the total want of European Officers with our native Army in India; but I maintain that it is not so much the want of European Officers as of *efficient Officers,* in whom the men might confide. Time was, as has already been shown in the early part of this letter, when in the days of Mahomed Yusuf, Jemal Saheb, and Clive, no troops could be more efficient than the Sepoys under their native Officers, directed only by European minds. Whoever has served of late years with those bodies of Cavalry denominated Irregular Horse, whether exclusively raised for our service in time of war, or acting as auxiliaries and furnished by our native allies, and directed by one or two European selected Officers, will bear testimony to the chivalrous spirit of those troops on several occasions, and to their fidelity and discipline on all. It is not necessary, therefore, that if a change of system be adopted, we should incur the heavy expense of filling the ranks of the Native Army with the same number of European Officers as exists in the other armies of the world, but that the masses should be commanded in detail, by persons of a higher order than those which now compose the Native Officers of the Army, who are neither respected by those above them, nor by those over whom they are placed. I have no hesitation in saying that unless this be effected, our Native Army will, from day to day, decline in character and lose its utility.

The question is one of immense importance, and must not be passed over cursorily. The late Sir Thomas Monro, a high authority on almost every question regarding India, was of opinion that the proportion of European to native soldiers ought to be as one is to ten; and speaking of the former, when he served with them, this number would have been sufficient; but I should think, *constituted as the army now is,* more than

double that proportion of Europeans in India will be desirable.*

Still it would be a fatal error to suppose that we ought to desire to lessen the number of our native soldiery in India. In the first place, their expense is as one to three compared with Europeans. In the second place, the natives are alone fitted for the fatigue duties of campaigns in the tropics, where the constitutions of Europeans must too soon fail. But above all, the great moral influence obtained over the people by having so considerable a portion of the population dependent on, and attached to our Government, ought not to be lost sight of. There are now not fewer than 270,000 native soldiers under arms in India. Every Sepoy is married, and most of them have

* Unfortunately the mad conduct of the Bengal army must shake the confidence of their surviving officers, and even those of the other Presidencies, in the fidelity of native troops. It becomes very important, therefore, that the cause or causes of the outbreak should be satisfactorily traced. My own conviction is, that nothing short of religious phrenzy was first communicated by their priests (the Bramins) to the Hindûs of the army; and when we know that nearly half of this body was composed of the priestly order, we may easily conceive how readily they succeeded in inspiring their comrades with an apprehension of loss of caste by applying to their lips the fat of an animal whose life they hold sacred, and with which it was stated their rifle cartridges were greased. Finding the Mahomedans in the regiments did not sympathise in this feeling, they added to the report of beef suet, an admixture of hog's lard, though in reality the Government caused the cartridges to be made up in the regimental stores with a composition of vegetable oil and bees' wax. The apprehension of a design on their religion spread through the army, and might have extended to the whole population, but for the circumstances which led to the mutiny at Meerut on the 9th of May and the flight of the insurgents to Delhi. There the rebellion assumed a new feature. It became a political movement in favor of the Emperor of Delhi, whose dynasty had been extinguished by the Mahrattas three generations ago. The great bodies of the mutineers were landholders under the Mahomedan King of Oude, recently deposed, whose cause they openly espoused, and the original religious feeling of the Hindûs fortunately became absorbed in a war for the restoration of the deposed Mahomedan Princes.

In this object the Sikhs of the Punjab, the Hindû Princes of Upper India, Hindustan, Malwa, and Rajputana felt no interest, the great body of the Hindû population of our own territories afforded our troops all the aid they dared to do, and the great danger of an extensive religious insurrection, which might have spread throughout India, was averted by the turn given to the rebellion by the mutiny at Merût.

families;* to these may be added the numerous suttlers and camp followers, with their families; and thus we shall find that not fewer than two millions of individuals in the army alone are interested in the welfare and prosperity of our Government. It is to this circumstance mainly we owe the fidelity of a large portion of our native population; and to which we may ascribe the prompt intelligence we obtain of plots and conspiracies that are and will continue to be daily concocted against us, but which are now nipt in the bud before they arrive at maturity. We have lately had a fatal example of the absence of such motives of attachment, in the want of information in Affghanistan, where a whole nation rose in arms against us, while the ruling authority had no intelligence of the wide spread disaffection till after it burst forth at once in all directions.

The foregoing reasons appear sufficient for keeping up our Native Army in India, the question of restoring it to efficiency, by supplying it with officers, is our present difficulty.†

Amongst all the persons examined before the House of Commons in 1832, the sentiments of the late Major David Wilson, of the Bombay Army, coincided with an opinion I ventured to suggest to the present Governor-General of India, when President of the Board of Control, more than twelve years

* This is only applicable to the lower tribes of aborigines and Hindûs of which our Indian Army ought in future in a great measure to be composed. The Mahomedans, the Bramins, and the Rajputs, leave their families at home. Those of the other classes which accompany their regiments are useful to their male relations in preparing their meals, procuring fuel, and even in earning a livelihood as camp followers. They will always form a restraint on the men in preventing mutiny at the risk of their own lives in its suppression. If the Bengal mutineers had had their families with them they would have afforded an effective check against the commission of the enormities perpetrated by their savage husbands and relatives, and the mutiny in the shape it assumed could not have occurred.

† The number of our army in India, as compared with that of England, appears large; but as the area and population of the former are more than six times greater than the latter. it ought, for the ordinary purposes of securing internal tranquillity and protecting its vast extent of position, to be more than thrice as large as it has ever been. In comparing the British forces of India (native and European) according to its area and population. with those of Europe or the United States of America, the army of India is infinitely small.

ago. Admitting the inefficiency of the actual practice of providing the Indian Army with native officers, it occurred to me that we should improve this branch of the service by partially reverting to the system which prevailed before 1796, when our Sepoys were most efficient. That is to say by gradually restoring to the native officers those motives for the better classes to enter our army which then existed, but which have since ceased. I have been long enough in the Army to recollect some of those respectable officers who were still in the service when I first entered it, and who had fought under Sir Eyre Coote in the wars with Hyder Ali. They have since gradually become extinct, and their places have been filled up from the ranks. In order to afford an opening for the entrance of young men of family, or in easy circumstances, to the service, we must ensure them higher pay and more rapid promotion; but above all, that kind treatment which is certain to follow if commanded by a few well selected European officers, as is at present the case among the irregular troops. To effect this, a gradual reorganization of the Infantry might take place by transferring the Native Officers of a few regiments into an equal number of others, and doing the same by the European Officers, selecting four European officers for the corps in which then would be the native officers. Two of which European officers should officiate as field officers and two as regimental staff. The number of Native Officers to each company should consist of one subadar or captain, and two jemadars, to be denominated 1st and 2nd, as subalterns, with a native subadar major and an adjutant, both to be mounted officers. I would require that in future no Native Officer should be promoted till he had passed an examination, which should comprise an acquaintance with the regulations of the service, together with so competent a knowledge of reading and writing as to be able to read the articles of war and keep his company's books and accounts. That this qualification should be required of serjeant-majors of companies, from which body might in future be selected all Native Officers.

In such case young men of family might be received into the army as *volunteers*, with an understanding that, according to their merit and standing, they should succeed to commissions. No *volunteer* should be eligible for his commission before he had

served at least two years as a private, one as a corporal (or naig), and one as a serjeant-major or havildar-major of a company. To form a regulation of this sort would necessarily involve many considerations and arrangements, the details of which could not be discussed in a letter.*

Although I have long thought that some such measure was absolutely necessary to provide for the deficiency of officers in the Native Army of India, yet it appears to me there never was a time when this subject demanded more attention than the present. That army is at this moment distributed over a space from Aden in the Red Sea, and Carrack in the Persian Gulf, on the west,

* It has been frequently asserted, that whereas the native army was never so faithful or so efficient as in early times when there were but three or four European Officers to each regiment of a thousand men, and as no greater number is now requisite for the irregular corps, either of infantry or cavalry, the necessity for an increased number of European Officers is not apparent.

Those who argue in this way overlook two very important points. The first is, that till the organization of 1796, the Native Officers were of a superior class, enjoying considerable patronage in their corps, and privileges of enlisting relatives often too young to do duty, of having private servants from the ranks, and of providing for their families and dependents by other indirect means. These were abuses, but they sufficed to make up for the small pay the Native Officers received, ensured their importance, and made it worth their while to enter our armies.

As regards the European Officers too, the officers of every branch of the service rose in one line, and none but those who possessed due qualifications were attached to native regiments.

The organization of 1796, as has been stated p. 11, changed all this. The native country gentry left the service. An insufficient number of Europeans took their places, and it was long before the latter were fit to occupy them. There was no longer a line of succession from whence to select officers for the military and civil departments of the army and other duties; recourse was had to the regiments. These became the school for the general staff, and latterly for the supply required for the irregular corps. The latter have since been framed on the same principle as our early native battalions. The officers are the gentry of the country, and the privates partly their own followers or peasantry, and of the class accustomed from their position in civil life to look up to them with respect. But as I have said before, (p. 27,) we never can have an efficient native army without efficient officers, and we cannot have efficient European Officers without being first trained in regular native corps.

The present system would have worked well enough if the vacancies caused by permanent removal from regiments were filled up, and the regular corps kept at all times complete in European Officers.

as far as the China seas, and the Islands of the Pacific on the East, over an extent of 50 degrees of longitude, equivalent to about 3,000 miles.*

When I reflect on your Lordship's extensive military experience, on the momentous duties which you have undertaken as Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Madras territory and army; and when I connect these circumstances with your Lordship's character, I cannot believe the topics I have ventured to discuss can be viewed with indifference.

I still feel, however, that some apology is due from an individual who is wholly unknown to your Lordship, for having obtruded, unsolicited, his opinions on your Lordship's consideration.

That apology will, I trust, be found in the magnitude and importance of the subject, and in the disinterested zeal I feel in promoting, as far as my humble talents and experience permit, the welfare of Her Majesty's magnificent empire in the East, and the future efficiency of the services to which my life has been devoted.

I have the honour to be, with the highest respect,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's faithful

And devoted, humble Servant,

JOHN BRIGGS.

* This letter was written when the news of the disastrous retreat from Affghanistan had not yet reached England.

The organization of the Bengal Army has first to be considered, and when that is completed the gradual corresponding alterations might be introduced into the armies of Madras and Bombay, but above all things let us never forget how dangerous it would have been had the three armies been amalgamated, or had the tendency to enlist the whole from the North Western provinces, and from Oude, with Brahminical priests and their fanatical devotees, extended to the armies of the Madras Presidency.

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